

Ten Cents a Copy

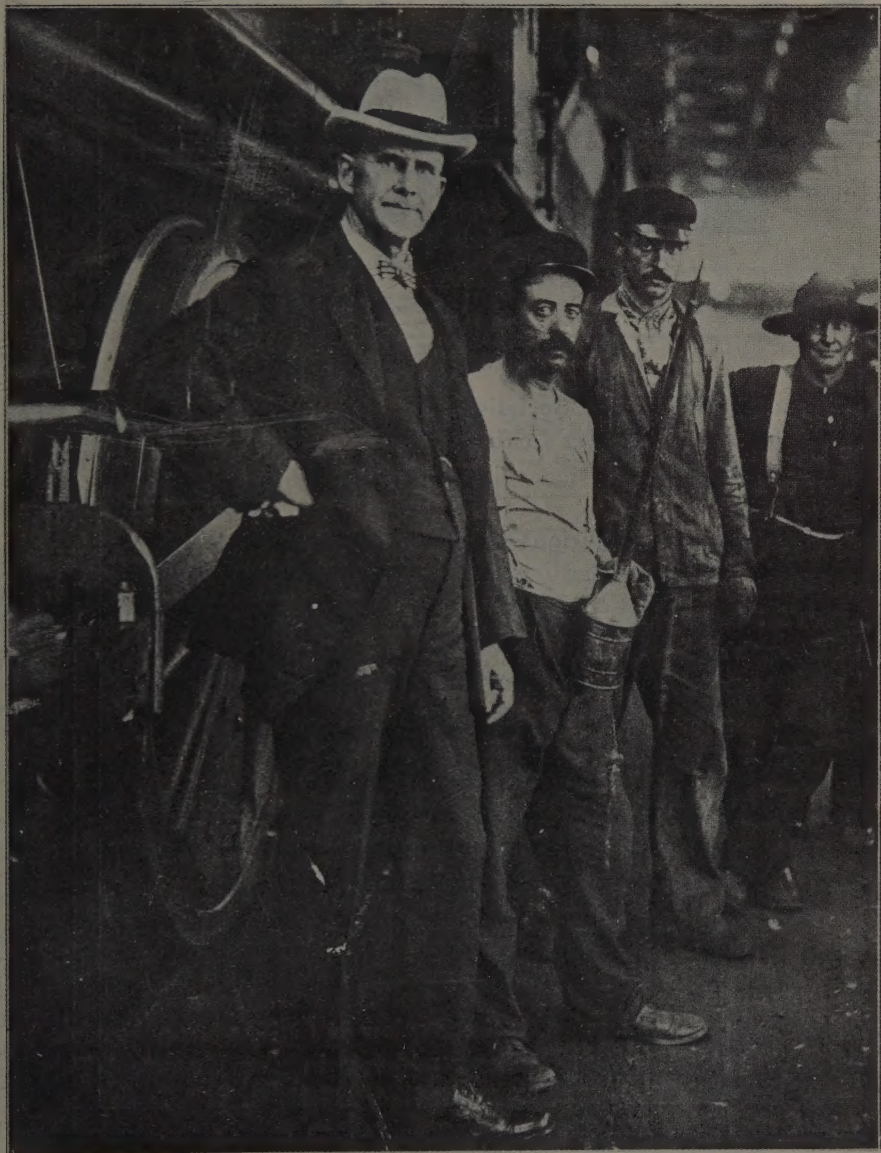
One Dollar a Year

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

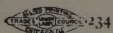
Volume IX

OCTOBER, 1908

Number 4



Published by
CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, (Co-operative) Chicago, U. S. A.



Copyright 1908 by Charles H. Kerr & Company.

Entered at the Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., as Second Class Matter July 27, 1900 under Act of March 3, 1879.

THE International Socialist Review

A Monthly Journal Of International Socialist Thought

Edited by Charles H. Kerr. Associate Editors: Ernest Untermann,
John Spargo, Max S. Hayes, Robert Rives La
Monte, William E. Bohn.

CONTENTS

Railroad Employes and Socialism	Eugene V. Debs
The Campaign at Brower's Crossing	John Spargo
A Serf of the South	May Beals
Doubly Enslaved	Tom Selby
You Can Change Conditions	Robert Hunter
Out of the Dump	Mary E. Marcy
Rich and Poor in America	John Martin
The Growth of Socialism in Australia	H. Scott Bennet
The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem	I. M. Robbins

DEPARTMENTS

Editor's Chair—The Economic Interpretation of Politics; The Backwardness of America; The Small Producer and the Socialist Party; Wages, Prices and Profits.

International Notes.	Literature and Art.	World of Labor.
News and Views.		Publisher's Department.

The subscription price of the Review is \$1.00 a year, payable in advance, postage included to any address in the Universal Postal Union. Advertising rate 15 cents per line, \$20.00 per page, no discount for time or space. Address all communications to

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Co-operative
153 East Kinzie St., Chicago

THE INTERNATIONAL Δ SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. IX

OCTOBER, 1908

No. 4

Railroad Employes and Socialism.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.



RAILROAD employes in train service are perhaps more thoroughly organized than are the workers in any other department of industry. According to the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, in 1906, there were in round numbers 285,000 train service employes on the railroads of the United States, the classification including engineers, firemen, conductors, trainmen, and switchmen. In the same year the organizations of these respective classes of employes reported a combined membership of 279,000. A small percentage of this membership is no longer employed in railroad service, and another small percentage is employed in Canada and Mexico. Deducting 25,000 from the total membership to cover these items (and this may be taken as a liberal allowance) it will be seen that but 31,000 of the total number of train service employes in the United States are unorganized. It is perfectly safe to say that at least 95 per cent of this unorganized body is composed of young and inexperienced men who have not been long enough in the service to become eligible for membership in the organizations of their respective classes. Probably not more than one per cent of the train service employes on the railroads of the United States,

who are eligible to membership in the various organizations, remains unorganized.

Notwithstanding this very complete organization it is somewhat paradoxical that railroad employes as a rule are densely ignorant of the real spirit and purpose of the trade union movement. They know very little concerning the traditions and principles of unionism and absolutely nothing of its history. Of economics they are as guiltless of knowledge as babes. It is true they have been taught that the man who takes the job of another who is on strike is a scab, but this teaching has its limitations and qualifications, as it is not considered disgraceful for the members of one organization to take the places of striking members of another organization when they have agreements with their employers establishing rates of wages and conditions of labor for a stated period of time. In other words, it is considered of more importance to maintain the so-called sacredness of contract than to lend assistance and support to fellow wage-workers in time of strike.

In line with this policy we find the engineers taking the places of striking firemen on the Southern Pacific, and assuring the managers of the Norfolk & Western during the recent threatened strike of the firemen that if the firemen went out they (the engineers) would guarantee that the trains would be kept moving. We also find the trainmen taking the places of switchmen whenever the latter strike for better wages or more bearable conditions of employment, always pleading the necessity of keeping their agreements with the railroad companies to relieve themselves of the odium of scabbing. The Switchmen's Union, by the way, is the only one of the railroad brotherhoods that is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. A proposition to affiliate with the Federation was put to a vote of the members of the Firemen's Brotherhood a few years ago, and was defeated by a large majority.

With the possible exception of the Switchmen's Union each of the railroad organizations is run on the theory that the interests of labor and capital are identical. P. M. Arthur, who was for many years before his death chief of the Engineers' Brotherhood, always sought to keep his organization free from what he denominated "entangling alliances" with other organizations. Mr. Arthur's teaching, which was accepted as the inspired utterance of superhuman intelligence by the members of his organization generally, was that a four dollar a day man has no interest in common with a two dollar a day man. Mr. Stone, the present chief of the Engineers, is a worthy pupil of his predecessor in office, and in general it may with truth be said that the spirit of clannishness and isolation which finds expression in Mr. Arthur's

teaching is to all intents and purposes the ruling principle of the railroad organizations today.

How little they are in touch with the spirit and purpose of the general labor movement may be inferred from the fact that, in response to public demand for protection against railroad accidents, our capitalist congress recently found it necessary to pass a law establishing a maximum working day of sixteen hours for railroad employes in train service. This law has been commended and hailed as a boon both by the leaders and rank and file of the railroad organizations, notwithstanding that the eight hour day has been a cardinal principle of the labor movement for a generation past, and some of the greatest battles in labor history have been fought for the recognition of that principle.

It thus becomes apparent that the railroad organizations are not trade unions in any true sense of the term. Their so-called "protective" features are a huge farce, productive of absolutely no benefit to the members who pay the freight, and useful only to furnish inspiring themes of oratory for the leaders at convention time. Working conditions and wages are in the last analysis always determined by the will of the railroad managers, who are adepts in playing one organization against another, and who "recognize" the right of their employes to organize for their own protection only when it suits them to do so. The organizations have neither connection with nor influence upon the general labor movement, and are in reality merely insurance associations, organized on the assessment plan, whose only useful function is to give protection to their members in the event of total disability or death. In this field they have accomplished much good by providing safe insurance at reasonable rates for a great body of men who are unable to procure regular insurance because of the extra hazardous nature of their employment.

As might naturally be expected of a body of workers so greatly isolated from the general labor movement, filled with a spirit of exclusiveness, and having no proper conception of the common interests of all wage workers, Socialism among railroad employes has been a matter of comparatively slow growth. Here and there in isolated cases the true philosophy of working class economics has taken root in the minds of individuals and given rise to sporadic attempts to bring Socialism to the knowledge of the rank and file, but these attempts have generally been repudiated and condemned by the leaders, and as a result the great mass of railroad labor still continues to parrot the untruth that the interests of labor and capital are identical and seems firm in the belief that what is good for the railroads must be good for their employes.

Notwithstanding this attitude it must not be assumed that

railroad employes are lacking in intelligence. On the contrary, taken as a class they are far above the average in intelligence, and it is certain that when they do begin to reason and act for themselves in economic matters they are destined to play an important part in the tragedy of working class emancipation. Their indifference to the class struggle has proceeded mainly from the nature of their organizations and the character of their leadership, coupled with the isolation of their employment from the general field of labor and the fact that their wage schedules, owing to the extra hazardous nature of their employment and the necessity of preliminary training and experience, have been maintained at a rate slightly above the average. They have, therefore, been measurably removed from the influence of those forces that operate constantly to depress the economic condition of the workers.

But within the past year the smug complacency with which the railroad employe has been taught to regard his position in the scheme of things industrial has received a decided shock. President Yoakum of the Rock Island says that there are 400,000 railroad men in the United States now without employment. This estimate is confirmed by President Shonts of the Clover Leaf, who says that of the 1,675,000 railroad employes who were in active service a year ago fully one-fourth are now idle, at a loss in wages approximating \$1,000,000 for every working day. "A year ago," said Mr. Shonts, "the railroads were spending \$1,250,000,000 for supplies, now they are spending not more than \$500,000,000. This means a falling off in railroad expenditures of three million dollars a day."

Two years ago the railroads were at the flood tide of "prosperity" and employes were enjoying to the full the benefit of their "common interest" with their employers. The hours of labor law, which was then before Congress for passage, was strenuously opposed by the railroads on the ground that it was utterly impossible for them to procure the services of the additional men that would be necessary to make the provisions of the law effective, and this argument had such weight with Congress that a provision was inserted in the bill giving the railroads a year in which to prepare for the enforcement of the law. With that concession the bill passed.

At the height of this condition of "prosperity" I addressed an article to railroad men, in which I predicted the present slump, "not as a matter of guess, but of arithmetic." I said "it may not come next month or next year, but it will come, and the longer it is coming the longer will be the backward trip. . . . Several hundred thousand of you will be left high and dry; no jobs, but plenty of time to tramp and think." My article was

published in the "Appeal to Reason" and extensively circulated among railroad employes. It created considerable comment, and several of the "Grand" officers of the organizations considered it of sufficient importance to warrant them in pointing out to their followers the utter absurdity of my conclusions and how entirely foolish it would be for railroad men to pay any attention to what I had to say. The "Railway Conductor," the official organ of the Order of Railway Conductors, which was then under the control of a "Grand Chief" who has since received the reward which comes to those labor leaders who are properly subservient to the interests of capitalism, was particularly caustic in its criticism; pointing out that Debs was simply a discredited labor leader who had made a failure of everything he undertook, and that it was the part of wisdom for railroad employes to pay no attention to his teachings, and especially to give no weight to his advice to investigate Socialism.

Although such arguments (?) from the "Grands" and "Worthy Grands" may have a certain amount of effectiveness in preventing inquiry on the part of their deluded followers during the continuance of "prosperity," they entirely lose force in a time of financial and industrial stress like the present. With more than 400,000 railroad employes out of work a large amount of time is permitted for independent thinking. The economic argument is as potent with railroad employes as it is with other workers, and when they find themselves bereft of their jobs and lacking the means to save their wives from eviction and their children from starvation it is suddenly brought home to them that the reputed brotherhood of capital and labor is a myth.

Especially is this true when, in answer to their pathetic inquiries of the standard bearer of the "prosperity" party as to what they are to do in such times of crisis when out of work and starving, they only receive the despairing reply, "God knows!"

When they ask for bread they receive a stone!

Since publication of the article above referred to many things have happened to open the eyes of railroad employes, and evidence is not wanting to show that Socialism is a force that must be reckoned with in railway labor circles from this time forth. It was in 1892 that I resigned my official position in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. The big strike of 1894 followed, and at its conclusion, defeated by the injunctions of Taft, Woods, et al., and the troops of the federal government, rushed to the assistance of the railroad managers by President Cleveland against the protest of the governor of a sovereign State, I was sent to jail and practically deserted by the railroad employes, my former brothers. This is what the present "Grands"

stigmatize as "failure." A million times more is such "failure" to be preferred than such "success" as the "Grands" have attained in leading their deluded followers into the mire of capitalism!

As a result of my "failure" the corporations were all violently opposed to me, and so of course their poor slaves had to desert and denounce me. An extremely few remained true and they had to keep it quiet. The corporations thought I was buried forever, and in the effort to crush out the last spark of independence from their employes they resorted to measures almost inconceivably heartless and inhuman. Men were blacklisted and denied employment at their chosen calling from one end of the country to the other. They were even in many instances dogged out of other vocations and denied the right to work at the most menial employments. They were forced by hundreds into trampdom and outlawry—many into suicide. Their wives and daughters were driven to penury and prostitution, and their tender children into starvation and death. This saturnalia of oppression continued until the tigerish maw of capitalism was fully sated and its agents paused from very weariness, confident in the belief that the spirit of its slaves was fully broken and crushed.

Such a stench did this blacklisting evil become in the nostrils of men that even capitalist legislatures were compelled, from very shame, to take cognizance of it. Laws against it were passed in many of the States, and finally, in 1898, the federal government passed a law forbidding railroad corporations engaged in interstate commerce to blacklist their employes or threaten them with loss of employment because of membership in a labor organization. Violation of the law was made a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not less than one hundred nor more than one thousand dollars. By this time the activity of the railroads in wreaking vengeance on the former members of the A. R. U. had accomplished its purpose, and complaints concerning blacklisting had become much less numerous, but the law, which also provided for the arbitration of labor disputes between interstate carriers and their employes, was hailed with glad acclaim by the "Grands" and their persecuted followers. It was believed that the evil of blacklisting had been virtually scotched and men could once more stand erect and proclaim their manhood and independence. But this reckoning did not take the courts into account.

At the very height of this great wave of republican "prosperity," namely, on October 15, 1906, the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Co., through its agent, William Adair, discharged a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen because of his union membership, in violation of the federal law. Adair

was indicted and convicted in the lower federal court, and sentenced to pay a fine of one hundred dollars. But the case was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, which august body, on January 27, 1908, declared that no offense had been committed in the discharge of the employe because of his membership in a labor organization, and that any attempt of the legislature to interfere with an employer's right to discharge his employes at will, with or without reason, or to blacklist them if he sees fit, "is an arbitrary interference with the liberty of contract which no government can legally justify in a free land."

Thus were railroad employes stripped of every vestige of protection which the law had granted them, by the very party of "prosperity" which, on the strength of the "full dinner pail" argument, they had voted into power in three successive campaigns. And this blow fell on the heels of the demonstrated failure of the "prosperity" regime, at a time when 400,000 railroad employes were looking for work owing to the recurrence of capitalism's periodic breakdown.

Is it any wonder that railroad employes are breaking their leading strings and beginning to think for themselves? Is it any wonder that they remember my prediction of two years ago, and recalling their past experiences, are coming over to Socialism by hundreds and thousands? Is it any wonder that they are beginning to say to themselves, "Debs may be a failure as a labor leader, but on this question of Socialism he is eternally right?"

The leaders of the dominant parties have sounded a note of alarm at the so-called "apathy" of the voters, and there is reason for their fear. Torchlight processions and unintelligible disquisitions from campaign spellbinders will no longer answer the insistent questionings of the slowly awakening labor giant. The full dinner pail idol has been crushed to earth through failure of the "party of prosperity" to make good its professions, and the workers are refusing to enthuse over the tariff, the currency, injunctions, our foreign policy, and the many other fake issues which were wont to thrill them into paroxysms of enthusiasm in aforetime campaigns.

All these fake issues dwarf into insignificance before the very practical question of "What are you going to do about the problem of the unemployed?" to which questions the Republicans answer only, "God knows!" and the Democrats, "We hope for restored confidence as a result of the policies announced in our platform."

The Socialist party is the only one that gives the worker a practical and logical answer to his elemental question. He is flocking by thousands to its standard, and it is my prediction that

the ides of November holds in store a surprise for both Republicans and Democrats that will compel a revision of their political methods, as well as a demonstration that the railroad employes of the United States have at last become conscious of their true position in the scheme of capitalist industrialism, and have resolved upon a master stroke for liberty.

The Campaign at Brower's Crossing.



OLD JIM BRIGGS is a queer lot! Homely? Well sir, he'd be reckoned homely in any collection of unattractive human beings you ever set eyes upon. A more homely mortal could never be found, even if there was a Homely Man's Society. Say, I never set my lamps on a homelier being than Jim, though I allow that some of my own folks have quite a reputation for homeliness. But Jim Briggs would be called an ugly duckling by the homeliest of them. Alongside of Jim, Joe Jones, the fellow that made his living as a model for ugly mugs, would be called handsome!

But it ain't the handsome chaps that are best in their innards, any more than the houses that are best painted outside are the most comfortable and happy to live in. Old Jim is so tarnation ugly that his face would break a looking-glass if he ever dared peep at one. Why, even Kitty Thomas, the oldest and loneliest old maid in Brower's Crossing, turned up her nose when Jim spoke sweet words to her and told him to get made over and straightened out a bit before making goo-goo eyes at any woman.

Still, for all that, Kitty and every other woman in Brower's Crossing would rather meet Old Jim on a lonesome road at night than most of the good looking chaps. And there is not a mother in the place that would be afraid to have Old Jim bring her daughter home across the fields after meeting. A pretty hard and rough old rock outside, his inside is all pure gold, as you might say. I'd rather have Jim Briggs for a neighbor than any of your slick gentry-aping folks, who never open their mouths to speak without taking their words out to look at them.

Jim's got a good heart, and as good a head as any man in Jefferson County. I do believe that he reads more books in a year than the schoolmaster and the parson put together. He knows more about politics than Caleb Crimmins, the County Chairman of the Democratic party, and Caleb is a pretty slick article. As for General Wheeler, our Congressman, he is like an infant scholar alongside of Jim. Why, last election, when Wheeler spoke in the schoolhouse, he was tied all up in knots, you might say, by Jim's questions. He could no more answer them than he could fly, and he looked like as if he wished for a rat's hole to hide in. Laugh! I near split my sides!

So last week, when the Democrats and the Republicans came around with their cards, and handed out smiles and taffy talk to the womenfolks, and then asked for my vote, I just made up my mind that I would not decide how to vote without asking Jim for his advice. Andrews, the Republican who is trying to get elected in place of old man Wheeler, and Connors, the young snip of lawyer from Bride's Bridge who is running on the Democratic ticket, were both very much put out when they found that I would not promise my vote. You might have thought that the fate of the whole United States rested upon me from the way they begged for my vote!

Well, that night I went over to see Jim and asked him his opinion of the political situation. "There's so many candidates, and so many parties," says I, "that I'm like the girl with half a dozen sweethearts, bothered to tell which charmer to choose."

Jim just laughed. "Sit right down in the easy chair in the corner, light your pipe and let us talk it over a bit," he said. "With half a dozen parties in the field, voting this year is like buying hogs. A fellow needs good judgment and sober wits. Likewise he needs a knowledge of hogs. In other words, Hezekiah, a man must know something about politics."

"Well, Hezekiah, we must first know what parties are in the field. There's half a dozen of them this year—Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Independence Leaguers, Populists and Prohibitionists. The Republicans have put up Bill Taft; the Democrats have put up Bill Bryan; the Socialists have put up 'Gene Debs; the Independence Leaguers have put up a fellow by the name of Hisgen; the Populists have put up Tom Watson; the Prohibitionists have put up a fellow named Chafin."

"And he will chafe a long time before I vote for him," says I.

"Guess you are about right in that, Hezekiah," said Jim. "I have a lot of good feeling for the Prohibition fellows, though. They are dead in earnest and they are honest, I believe, which is more than can be said for some of the other parties. And they are right in trying to do away with the rum-shops—think what a sot Liza Ridley's man has become! But I can never believe in their methods, Hezekiah. There is only one way to make people sober, and that is by making their lives free from the care and misery which drives men and women to find solace in rum."

"Then there is Tom Watson and the Populist remnant. Most people thought that the "Pops" had given up the ghost. But Tom and his faithful remnant are still left. Tom is a mighty clever fellow, bright as a new dime and honest as the sun. I like Tom's books, but he is not much of a leader. He is just as bitter as he can be. If Tom was on an island with no company

but a dog, I believe he'd quarrel with the dog. Tom is what I call a sour stomach Democrat. In some things he is mighty keen and progressive, so they say, but in politics he is out of date. He can't get it into his head that Thomas Jefferson is dead. If you want to go back a hundred years, Tom is a good man to vote for."

"No! I voted for the Populists once, before they were sold out to the Democrats," said I. "It's a durn fool fox that is caught twice in the same trap, Jim. But what about this Independence League? The name sounds sort of good to me."

Jim laughed in that sly way he has when he is making up his mind to tell a good joke. "If I put a whiskey label on a bottle of ammonia, Hezekiah, you would hardly be fool enough to drink the stuff, not if you were sober," he said. "A name on a party is only a label, Hezekiah, and pretty often the label is a lie at that."

"The only thing this new party is independent of, so far as I can figure it out, is political honor and principle, Hezekiah. The party is entirely dependent upon one man, William Randolph Hearst—and Hearst seems to be dependent upon the short memories of the people. Elected to Congress as a Democrat, he tried hard to get the Democratic nomination in 1904, the year that Parker ran. He denounced Parker worse than any Republican in his newspapers, and from the way he raved about Parker as a tool of the criminal trusts you would have thought that he would have voted for Tom Platt rather than see Parker elected. But he supported Parker, just the same. In 1905 Hearst was sick of the Democrats and ran for mayor upon an independent ticket. He could not find words hot enough with which to abuse the Democrats of New York. Very near every day he was telling us how he would put Murphy and McCarren in state prison, and he called Taggart and Conners all the bad names he could invent. He got his artists to draw pictures of these men in convict dress behind prison bars."

"Next year he ran for Governor on the Tammany ticket. He was the candidate of Boss Murphy and Boss Conners—the very men he had promised to send to jail! Then he made a deal with the Republican boss, Roosevelt's friend, Parsons, and the League fused with the Republicans. Talk about the fellows in the circus that can change their clothes before your eyes, while you wink, why, Hearst had them all beat! Hearst is independent, all right. He is surely not dependent upon any political principle or sense of honor and decency."

"But the party is dependent enough—upon Hearst! William Randolph Hearst is the party. Why, Hezekiah, look at the convention they held in Chicago. It was Hearst who chose the

delegates; it was Hearst who hired the hall; it was Hearst who paid the railroad fares of the delegates; it was Hearst who picked the candidates for the ticket; it was Hearst who pulled the strings for the whole marionette show! Drivers of Hearst's Chicago newspaper wagons represented states in which they did not live—and Hearst paid their wages. The only fellow who dared express an idea of his own about the ticket was thrown out into the street by men hired by Hearst and paid by Hearst. What sort of a party do you call that, Hezekiah? Why, it is not a party at all, but an advertisement for Hearst!"

I allowed that was all pretty bad, of course. Confound it, I had to admit that it was all true as gospel, for I remembered the whole thing when Jim brought it back to my mind. "But what about this man Hisgen?" I said; "he seems to be a pretty good fellow. They say he stood up and fought John D. Rockefeller and that gang, and I sort of like that."

"Pshaw! Hezekiah," says Jim, "don't you know that good men for candidates is the bait to catch political gudgeons with? Hisgen is a good fellow, of course he is! What would Hearst want him for else? The only thing Hisgen has ever done is to sell axle grease and kerosene and manage to hold out against Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company. That is good business. Hezekiah, a very good recommendation for a job as manager of a grease and oil company, but no special reason for voting for him to be President. They say that he is a music composer, too, and that some of the things you hear the hurdy-gurdys play at the County Fair were composed by him. He ought to compose a song for his campaign. It could have a verse something like this:

'Oh, I belong to Billie Hearst;
I'm the head-liner in his show!
Ask me no questions—see him first:
I'm just a puppet, don't you know!
I dare not to say anything
Until my master pulls the string!"

No, Hezekiah, if you have as much sense as a gosling you will not vote for Hearst's Hisgen—or Hisgen's Hearst, whichever way you want to put it."

Now I could see very well that all that Jim said was the honest and naked truth. The Independence League could no more get my vote than I could get Old Rockefeller's millions. I knew that before Jim got through. "It looks to me as if there are only three parties to be seriously considered," says I. "The question is whether to vote for Taft, for Bryan, or for Debs. What about these three, Jim?"

"Well, Hezekiah," says Jim, "a vote is only a man's right to say what sort of a government he wants to have. Candidates have platforms which are supposed to show the sort of government they are in favor of. First get in your own mind a clear idea of the sort of government you want, and then see which platform comes nearest to your idea."

"Of course," says I then, "every decent American citizen wants good, honest government."

Jim just laughed like a girl that is tickled with a feather duster. He puffed his pipe like an engine and blew great rings of smoke into the air. Then he snorted and said, "If that is all you want, Hezekiah, you are easy enough to satisfy. But I want a lot more than that. As you say, every decent American citizen wants that—or ought to want it."

"But you and I are not only decent American citizens, Hezekiah: we are also working men. Forty-five years as boy and man I've worked hard, and you have worked just as hard for near as long. We've both been sober and industrious, too, and yet we are as poor as church mice. We had to go to work when we were just kids and you had to send your kids to work in the rubber factory down at Bride's Bridge when they ought to have been in school. This past year the mill has been shut down more than half the time and there is hardly a family in Brower's Crossing that has not suffered want or seen the few dollars that were meant for old age comforts melt away. I ask you, Hezekiah Hancock, a straightforward question: You've worked nearly forty years, as hard as any man; you have been sober and steady, as I can testify, and there is not a better manager than your wife in the whole county; but if anything should happen next week so that you had to give up work for good, what would you do for a living?"

Well, sir, Jim had me plumb in the ribs, as you might say. I had been speaking of the same matter to Susan only the night before. The fact is we would have to go to the poorhouse, unless we could both earn a few crusts by doing odd jobs. So I told Jim, just as I have told you.

"And there are millions like you, Hezekiah," says he. "Now, what I want is a government that will manage things different. I want a government that will make it impossible for such things to be. I'm sick and tired of seeing little kids sent to hard work while strong men can't get a chance to work. I'm sick of seeing hard-working people miserable and poor while the drones are wallowing in riotous plenty. I say that it is a crime for men and women who are able and willing to work to have to go hungry and in rags. Why, man alive, have you never asked

yourself why the only people to be poor and wretched should be the working people—the very people who produce the wealth?

"It seems to me, Hezekiah, that a vote is of mighty little use to the working class unless they can use it to put an end to these conditions. You can't eat a vote. You can't wear a vote. There is very little fun in going into a booth to make a cross on a bit of paper. Unless it is going to benefit you in some way, you might just as well not vote at all. So it seems to me that we should look at the platforms of all parties to see what they propose to do to bring about better conditions. Is that sound logic, Hezekiah?"

Now a man that could not see the sense of that would be pretty dull, so I had to agree with Jim. Then he went to a drawer and pulled out copies of the platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties which Andrews and Connors had left when they called to beg for his vote. He handed the Republican platform to me. "See if you can find anything in this document about the unemployed problem," says he.

Not a word could I find about it, and Jim just stood there smoking and smiling. "Search the Republican platform well, Hezekiah," says he, "and see if you can find anything about the workingman who is old and poor and unable to work."

"Not a word," says I. "But I never had much use for the Republicans, anyhow."

"Search the Democratic platform for the same things," says he, handing me the document.

"Not a little whisper," says I.

Jim had me again! The Democratic platform had not a word to say about the man out of a job; not a word about the man too old to work; not a word about the kids in the mills and the mines. I felt pretty sick, for I've always been a bit fond of Bryan and voted for him twice. Then an idea entered my mind. "Platforms don't contain everything a candidate believes in, Jim," says I. "Bryan himself is a big sight more radical than his platform or his party."

Jim just laughed out loud. "What difference would that make, Hezekiah?" he asked. "Are you so dull as not to know that even if Bryan got elected, which I doubt, he would be at the mercy of the men elected to Congress back of him? And what can you expect to get from the Democrats? Why, man, think of the conditions in the South to-day, under Democratic rule! The power of the Democratic party in the South is pretty near absolute. Mr. Bryan depends for most of his electoral votes upon the South. And nowhere in God's universe are conditions worse for the workingman than they are where the Democratic party is supreme.

"As for Bryan himself, the Lord only knows what he does believe in. He was regarded as a dangerous radical in 1896, but to-day he is so conservative that the thought of his election worries none of the great capitalists. The very men who in 1900 chose Alton Brooks Parker to head the Democratic ticket upon the ground that he would not be opposed by the great corporations have this year nominated Bryan. Free silver is no longer pushed to the front by Bryan. Only a year or so ago he was loudly advocating government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, but now he is silent upon that subject. There is not a line about it in his platform or in his speeches.

"As for the rest, Bryan told us in his speech of acceptance that where his party platform was silent he would be silent; that he considered himself as much bound by the silence of the platform as by its utterances. And that means that he is pledged not to attempt to solve the problem of unemployment, pledged not to attempt to do away with child slavery and old age poverty. I ask you, friend Hezekiah, what you think of a man who seeks your vote wearing a muzzle like that— a muzzle made and fitted on by such men as Tom Taggart, Fingy Conners, Charlie Murphy and Roger Sullivan? Are these men, Bryan's bosses, any better than Tom Platt and Joe Cannon?"

Well, sir, I was feeling mighty uncomfortable by this time. I could see Bryan shrinking up under the fire of Jim's logic, and I knew what was coming. Then I pointed out the plank in the Democratic platform dealing with the great corporations. "Look here," I said; "all you have said is true, Jim, gospel truth, and I know it. But you must admit that Bryan is against the trusts. He wants to put them under control." Then I read the plank.

You should have heard Jim rip that plank up and down! He was like a regular rip saw! "All bosh!" he said. "You must be near daft, Hezekiah, if you are fooled by that silly plank! What is it that is proposed? Why just this: Any corporation whose business amounts to 25 per cent of the entire business in that line will have to get out a license and come under government inspection or supervision; if it only does 24 per cent of the business it won't have to get a license. Even under Bryan's own showing it would be possible for four concerns to control 96 per cent of all business and go unlicensed. And there is nothing to prevent the same bunch of men from owning the four concerns, so that, even according to Bryan's showing, any group of men will be able to own and control 96 per cent of the entire business in any line without coming under his law. I'm no lawyer, Hezekiah, but I am no fool to swallow such bait as that.

"Bryan may be sincerely opposed to the trusts, but that only

shows him to be a back number. When he was nominated at Denver some of his fool friends, being superstitious about nominating him on a Friday, put the hands of the clock back. That is just what Bryan is trying to do on a big scale. Here we are a great and growing country, getting away from the old cut-throat competition; business is being organized into great trusts and corporations; it can no more be helped than the flow of the tide can be helped. Instead of leading the people onward to take the next step, to bring the trusts under the ownership and control of Uncle Sam, so that all will enjoy the benefits, Bryan wants to lead us backward a hundred years or more, back to the days of Sam Adams and Thomas Jefferson. It can't be done, Hezekiah."

"Why, there is nobody but Debs left! You have killed off all the others, Jim," said I then. Old Jim grinned like a cat in a chicken coop. "Do you mean to vote for Debs—a Socialist?" I asked him.

"Why not, Hezekiah?" asked Jim. "Ever hear anything against Debs?"

"No. Only that he is a Socialist," says I. "He spoke once over at Bride's Bridge and I went to hear him. What he said seemed pretty good to me, too."

"Here is the Socialist platform," says Jim then, handing me the document. "Look it over."

I had never read the platform of the Socialists before. The Socialists have never been very strong in Brower's Crossing, and I suppose that is why I never bothered to get their platform. But when Jim handed me a copy I could see in a minute that it was different from the platforms of the other parties. Why, sir, the first thing in the platform is a description of the crisis and the hard times. Every word in the platform has something to do with the workingman. Jim explained to me that the Socialist party is a workingman's party, that it gets all its funds from the working people, and could not be bought or corrupted by the plutocrats.

"Then I was surprised to find that the Socialists have got a practical programme. I had read in the papers that Socialists were just kickers, always complaining that things are wrong, but with no idea of how to set them right. Well, sir, I found the first plank in the platform a sensible proposition for dealing with the unemployed, and in the next plank the public ownership of the railroads, telegraphs, and so on, is demanded. I found that the Socialists want to do away with child labor, to provide for the insurance of the working man or woman against old age, sickness and accident. To put the whole thing in a nutshell, I found that the Socialist party is the only party in the

country to-day which has a platform in which there is any attempt to improve the conditions of the working people."

So I said to Jim, "Why, Jim Briggs, I never thought that the Socialists had such a sensible platform as this. I should like to get a few copies of this platform and hand them out to some of the neighbors."

"Why, are you going to vote for Debs?" asked Jim.

"To be sure I am! Why not?" asked I. "If I vote for Taft, or Bryan, or Hisgen, my vote will be thrown away, even if the man I vote for should win out. They don't stand for the things which I need, Jim, and as I figure it out, when a fellow votes for what he don't want his vote is clean thrown away, even when he wins. And the only sensible way to use a vote according to my notion is to vote for what you want. My vote will go to Debs."

Jim jumped up and took hold of both my hands. "Well done, Hezekiah! Good for you! Three cheers for Debs!" he shouted. I never saw a man get so happy over a new voter in my life. He just danced for joy and kept singing some campaign song about a million Socialist votes. I only remember the words of one line—

"We are coming, Father Abraham, a million voters strong."

Oh, yes, there will be quite a few Socialist votes in Brower's Crossing this time.

JOHN SPARGO.

A Serf of the South.



THE long, elm-shaded street with the afternoon lights and shadows slanting across it was good to look at. The green lawns on either side were gay with flowers, and the wide galleries of the houses were draped with honeysuckles and luxuriant climbing roses and Confederate jasmine. A black maid pushing a go-cart strolled by leisurely. On the opposite side of the quiet street a group of young girls had paused for a moment's gay chatter. On the galleries women in cool, tasteful summer raiment were embroidering or reading or entertaining guests.

Nelle leaned forward with her elbows on the wide window sill and looked at the pleasant scene with a sigh of content.

"I thank whatever gods may be," she said, "that in the South one can dream, without shutting one's eyes, that the horrors of capitalism have no existence."

"Unless that is one of them," I said, glancing at a man who was opening the side gate.

His appearance brought to my mind another line of the poem Nelle had just quoted: "Beneath the bludgeonings of fate my head is bloody but unbowed."

He was literally bloody. A fresh wound on his forehead was almost black with dust and cinders, and little streams of blood had trickled down from it and dried on his hollow cheeks. He was deathly pale and I saw that his hand shook as he lifted the gate-latch. But withal he was unbowed—defiant.

"What on earth," murmured Nelle, and then a woman's shriek came from the side gallery, and a woman ran down the path and took him in her arms. She was a little woman, scarcely five feet tall, and he was a six-footer and more, but there was something in the way she clung to him that seemed protecting and fiercely maternal.

We heard soft, Southern endearments mingled with her sobs, and then in a terrific outburst:

"I hate 'em! I'd like to kill 'em all! O I wish I could burn 'em alive!"

The man only said, "There, there, honey,—there there, honey," and kissed her and patted her soothingly. After a moment they came on up the path, he shaking with weakness, she with rage.

"What can it mean?" asked Nelle impersonally of the world at large. We knew nothing of the woman except that she was very young, and that she had come to the boarding house with her baby a week before to work for mere board only.

"She is always so silent and timid," Nelle said. "Who'd have guessed that she is canned-up hate and tenderness?"

From our landlady we first learned their story, and afterward, when the man found that we were Socialists, he told it himself, seated on the gallery steps with his baby on his knee, in the midst of the flowers and fragrance that tempt one to believe the South an earthly paradise. A good night's rest and nourishing food had revived him wonderfully. The wound on his forehead (caused, as we had learned, by his falling headlong from sheer weakness while climbing a fence), was hidden by a neat white bandage. His voice was even and unemotional.

"I was raised on a farm," he said, "but I had a lot of brothers and wasn't needed at home, so I got a little education and taught school in the mountains. The pay was low—twenty-five a month—but board was five a month and other things in proportion. I kept on teaching after we were married and worked on her father's farm in the summer time.

"But after the baby came we took a notion we wanted a home of our own, so last summer we came to town so as to make more money.

"I got a job from the telephone company—unskilled labor, a dollar and a half a day—but I was taking a correspondence course at night; you know electricians get good wages. But it costs lots more to live in town, and the baby got sick; we thought it was the town milk and the hot little rooms we had to live in, so I went out in the country and got work on a farm.

"The farmer promised thirty dollars a month and a house and garden and fuel. After I'd been there a week Hilda and the baby came, and I went to a little cross-roads store and went in debt for a few things to set up housekeeping. We had rented furnished rooms in town and had nothing but our trunks, but we only went in debt twelve dollars. We've always been used to the simple life and we believe in plain living and high thinking, as Emerson says."

Nelle was looking at him with delighted approval. It is a bit unusual to hear a convict, just from the coal mines, quoting Emerson. I saw that Nelle was mentally putting it down in her notes of the new South.

"I promised to pay the cross-roads storekeeper in three weeks," the man's even voice went on. "Sanders, that's the farmer's name, had promised to pay me monthly and I had already worked a week. But when pay day came he counted

out the rainy days and said I had to make up for them before he would pay a cent. And then the storekeeper came down on me for the twelve dollars."

The little woman seated near him moved nearer and her hand crept involuntarily toward his, but changed the direction and began playing with the baby's toes. Mountain women are seldom demonstrative.

"It seems strange, the way they treated me. You'd hardly believe it. I don't know how to believe it myself, though I've known of other cases just as bad and even worse.

"Of course I understand why the sheriff sent me to the mines without a trial. That was graft. But the storekeeper didn't get any graft, I don't reckon, unless Sanders paid him more than the twelve I owed him. Whatever Sanders paid he kept the rest of my thirty dollars. I never saw a cent of it. I reckon he wanted to get me off his place too because I'm a Socialist. He didn't know it when he hired me and after I told him he seemed kind of scared of me. He's powerful ignorant and reads only capitalist papers.

"It came off one Sunday evening Sanders sent for us to go over to his house and pick the banjo and sing. He had some whiskey and tried to get me to drink with him. I wouldn't, and he kept drinking and quarreling at me for not drinking till I was disgusted and got up to go home.

"Then of a sudden he was on me like a tiger. I thought he'd choke me. I was that surprised I couldn't get my fight up for a minute. I tore loose then. I didn't want to hurt a drunken fool, and Hilda was scared and the baby was screaming, so I started home with them. He said he'd shoot me and went in the house, so we started running, for I was unarmed. He did bring out his gun but his wife gave him a good bawling out and he didn't shoot.

"We walked twelve miles that night back to town. They arrested me next day, and the storekeeper corroborated everything Sanders charged and together they got me sent to the mines—without trial.

"Those coal mines are hell. Sick or well, men are lashed to their tasks—and such tasks. The shaft we walked through to our work was four feet high. I walked three miles in the morning and three miles at night bent down in that shaft, besides doing the inhuman day's work they demanded. I was sick and worked till I literally dropped in my tracks, and they kicked and cuffed me before—and after—the regular lashing. They killed a man at least twice a month in that shaft. They tortured others to death."

The man's voice was still even and unemotional but his eyes

glowed with red-hot rage, and the veins in his temples were throbbing. I noticed that the stress of his emotion had reopened the wound on his forehead. It had been badly cut by his fall on some sharp stones, and the red blood was moistening the lower edge of the bandage. He paused and when Nelle and the landlady had voiced their indignant horror I changed the subject.

"What did you do all that time?" I asked the little woman whose hand rested in his now, openly and unashamed.

I sat on the steps of the jail till dark and then the sheriff's wife let me sleep on some quilts in her kitchen. Then a preacher's wife took me to work for my board; but she had eleven children, so I came here as soon as I had a chance."

"I reckon," said the landlady, "that you're as much of a Socialist now as your husband."

"I'm no Socialist at all," said the other woman fiercely, "I'm an anarchist. I'd love to shoot down like dogs every cowardly cur that laid their hands on him, and then some."

The baby, dozing in its father's arms, startled perhaps by the vehemence of its mother's voice, stirred and whimpered uneasily. The father patted it soothingly and raised it to his shoulder.

"There, there, honey," he murmured. "There, there, honey."
MAY BEALS.

Marysville, Tennessee.

Doubly Enslaved.

TOM SELBY.

Though whipt, though shackled, though in bondage pent,
No slave is he who struggles to be free;
But slave indeed—aye, twice enslaved is he—
Who bears his servitude in dull content!

You Can Change Conditions.



WE are in the midst of a widespread revolt of the workers against oppression and misrule. Political bosses, owned body and soul by the big trusts and monopolies, are endeavoring to raise up here the same forms of oppression which exist in the autocracies of the Old World. Our political life is a nest of corruption. Over municipal councillors and legislators, over even our executives and judges, is the rule of the boss. And as the Czar gives orders to HIS agents, big and little, so it is coming about with us that great capitalists give orders to THEIR public officials.

Unquestionably this private ownership of our government and of our public officials is the greatest political issue of our time. No one can doubt but that the people alone will decide the outcome of this issue. It is a matter for their choosing whether we shall have in this country Czarism or Democracy, Oligarchy or Republicanism, Capitalism or Socialism.

One must speak of this as our foremost issue because the workers are helpless to protect themselves from injustice and oppression so long as the government is owned and controlled by the capitalists. The first duty, therefore, before the workers of this country is to exercise their political power intelligently,—is to smash corrupt and despotic political machines, to rid themselves of self-seeking bosses, and to take into their own hands the governing institutions. Until this is done no great or lasting improvement can be effected in the condition of the people, and no really effective effort made against the manifold forms of economic oppression.

Every citizen will agree that all this is obvious, but some may ask, "How shall the workers gain control of the government?" We answer that the ownership and control of the government by the workers is possible ONLY through the agency of the Socialist party. It is an organization of the workers themselves. It is the ONLY political party which is not owned, controlled and dominated by capitalists. It is the ONLY party without bosses,—the ONLY party in which the decision of the rank and file is final. Furthermore it is the ONLY party which expresses every hope and aspiration of the working-class, the ONLY party which has declared for uncompromising warfare

against every form of oppression and misrule in our political, in our economic, and in our social life. Its whole LIFE AND BEING is democratic: ITS BODY, the working-class; ITS SPIRIT, the revolution.

Nearly all the voters of American cities are wage-workers. They do *not* own the tools with which they work. They do *not* own the houses in which they live. They depend from day to day upon the wages which they receive from their masters. In times like the present when factories and sweatshops are closed they and their families are forced into destitution. They roam the street in want. And as the baker is shut out of the bakery, and the sweatshop worker out of the sweatshop, they cannot produce bread and clothing even for themselves. As a plant rooted up from its soil and left to wither and die, so is the unemployed wage-worker.

During this last winter, scores of thousands of fathers and mothers have been unemployed; thousands upon thousands of school-children have gone hungry; and although all our public officials knew of this widespread distress among the workers, not a single public act was taken to relieve their misery. When the unemployed came out into Union Square they were beaten and clubbed by policemen, ridden down by American Cossacks, and denied the exercise of their constitutional rights to peaceably assemble and state their grievances. And as the Tammany government in New York ignored this misery so likewise did the Republican legislature at Albany. During all the sad months of last winter the legislature discussed everything under the heavens except the misery and starvation of this multitude of wage-workers.

In face of such a record can wage-workers fail to ask: Are these public officials OUR representatives, and is this government OUR government? If New York State were part of a great despotism one would expect its public officials to ignore the distress of the people, and even to ride them down when they assembled to voice their wrongs; one would then expect our representatives at Albany to ignore destitution and hunger, and at the same time to pass legislation for the benefit of the rich. But what shall we think when these very things happen in this so-called Republic?

It is impossible to suppose that the workers are content to have their distress so ignored. They are not different from other men. They are rightly determined to force upon the community some recognition of their necessities. They want, and intend to have, an opportunity to work until they and their families have the food they require. They want, and are determined to have, wages increased and hours of labor decreased. They want, and

are determined to have, some security in life, some regularity of employment, and an opportunity to earn a decent and honorable livelihood for themselves and their families.

As the political expression of the workers it is the aim and purpose of the Socialist party to fight in every municipal council and legislature in the country to achieve better conditions for the workers. It will never be content until economic and political conditions are changed and the well being of the workers is made the chief end and aim of every legislative act. In the growth of the Socialist party lies THE ONLY HOPE of the working-class. Until the workers have their own representatives in the legislatures they can expect NO SOLUTION of the great economic and social problems which now bear so heavily upon them.

The conditions which confront the wage-workers of to-day are intolerable. They are exploited by their employers, who for the sake of greater profits force down wages to the lowest point, and increase the hours of labor to the very limit of human endurance. Factories are dirty and unsanitary; machines are unguarded. During the rush season, men, women and children work until they drop from exhaustion, and during the periods of unemployment they must live somehow upon their meager savings.

Nor is this the end of their exploitation. The coal trust, the meat trust, the ice trust, and the land trust exist for the purpose of raising prices artificially until no matter how much the workers receive in wages, all and more must be spent to provide themselves and their families with the necessities of life. Despite the fact that their tenements fall more and more into decay, become more and more filthy and unsanitary, rents constantly mount upward. Even during this panic, when the people have nowhere to turn to find work, the meat trust has raised the price of meat, the landlord trust the rent, and the other trusts have forced up the prices of the other necessities of life.

And is there no one to protect wage-workers from these onslaughts? Are there no representatives in your government anywhere to deal with the employers who exploit you or with the trusts which rob you? Is there not ONE of your political representatives to whom you can turn for help? You know I need not answer. You know, or ought to know, that the men whom YOUR votes have put in power are not YOUR representatives, but the representatives of the employers who exploit you in the factory, and of the big trusts which exploit you at home.

And yet, my friends, you can do anything if you will only make the necessary effort. You have the power of numbers. You have the ballot, and you can alter and change conditions as

you will. You have only to vote intelligently. With your votes wisely used you can build up your own political organizations and control your political representatives—your city councils, your legislatures, and your national government. And not until you gain this control over your government can you hope to pass legislation remedying social and economic wrongs and abolishing every form of political and industrial oppression. Filthy streets and foul tenements can be ABOLISHED BY YOU. Foul sweatshops and fouler bakeries can be ABOLISHED BY YOU. Your dwelling-places and your working-places can be made wholesome and clean and beautiful. Your children can be saved from the early toil of the sweatshop, and your wives from drudgery and misery. Even the fundamental cause of all poverty, misery and degradation—the capitalist system itself—can be ABOLISHED BY YOU.

Whenever you will! Instead of our present disorder, our wealth and our poverty, you can create the co-operative commonwealth in which men will labor together to help, to befriend and to succor each other, instead of being forced as now to tear to pieces, bankrupt and impoverish each other.

Are you satisfied with conditions now? Then you have no reason to vote for the Socialists. We who make up the Socialist party are profoundly dissatisfied with conditions now. We intend to work with might and main to abolish for ever the miserable and wretched conditions of life which surround the modern wage-worker, and we want ONLY THOSE men to vote for us who are dissatisfied as we are with conditions now.

It is a big work. We realize that. But WE KNOW that in time victory will be ours. We know that in time education and organization will make the working-class powerful enough to overturn the present political and economic institutions which make for inter-fraternal warfare, for misery and poverty, and to establish in their stead a community of brothers, where want will be unknown and the heart of man has peace.

ROBERT HUNTER.

Out of the Dump.

No. VI.

WITH THE CHARITY ORGANIZATIONS.



FEW days after they took Bob away to the House of Correction, I left the kiddies in charge of one of our neighbors and went over to see my old employer at The Guildhall. She had been kind to me and, in my misery and helplessness, I hoped she would be able to give me some advice. But Mrs. Van Kleeck had sent her on to Hot Springs for the baths with a trained nurse in attendance. And Mrs. Van was too busy amid her social functions to be bored by a recital of my troubles. She interrupted me almost at the beginning of my story.

"Never mind about that," she said. And wrote out a check for one hundred dollars, which she sent to old Copperthwaite with a note asking him to employ me in one of the charity organization offices. She assured me he would take care of me and promptly wiped her shoes of the affair. I went to see Mr. Copperthwaite the next morning.

Mrs. Van Kleeck's requests were regarded as commands by the General Superintendent. She was one of the patronesses whose name it was only necessary to have at the head of any charitable enterprise in order to secure scores of Social Climbers scrambling to work and to contribute.

John Copperthwaite was the hardest, least sympathetic man I have ever known. He cared nothing at all about the Poor. His chief ambition was to become the highest salaried man working in the field wherein he shone. He was one of the fathers of "Scientific Charity" and desired to be quoted upon all philanthropic questions as the greatest American authority upon the subject.

His motto was "Teach the Poor self-help." It was very simple. All the investigator had to do was to advise the applicant to "get work." According to old Copperthwaite, every time an organization GAVE anything to a poor man or woman that organization proved itself inefficient. He believed that a perfect institution should pay next to nothing in practical aid—or

"relief," as he called it. He said he hoped to live to see the time when charity workers would be educated to the point where they would realize the importance of spending 99% of all money received for the Cause in the "Scientific Way." The investigators would be educated workers. They would be able to promptly separate the many "unworthy" from the "worthy" poor. Of course it did not matter what became of the "unworthies." The "worthy" ones would appeal to the investigators; drink in a little Wisdom on How to Help Themselves and go upon their ways rejoicing.

But I do not mean to discuss the uncharitable charity workers, nor the dishonest ones. There are uncharitable and dishonest people everywhere. Rather I wish to tell about those whose greatest joy is in aiding and helping the poor and unfortunate. It concerns us only whether THEY are able to cope with the great and INCREASING illness—Poverty.

Fortunately Mr. Copperthwaite decided to send me over to assist in the office of Mr. Pythias. And he was truly a friend—a Pythian, to the poor as far as in his power lay.

His eyes filled with tears when I told him about mother and Bob and my wish to make a little home for Sam and Maggie.

"Well, well, well!" he said sympathetically. "We'll see if we can't manage it."

And so he installed me in the great store rooms and before long I was busy clothing the naked Poor in the cast-off garments of the Rich. Mr. Pythias paid me seven dollars a week besides giving me some good warm clothes for Sam and Maggie. Our rent was \$2.00 a week. And Mrs. Maloney, who lived just overhead, kept an eye on the children every day till I came home.

In a short time they had learned to put the potatoes to boil and to set the table before I returned. We were really managing to get along very well. My work in the store rooms was always interesting and I found the winter days slipping away faster than I had dreamed possible. I was too busy to feel very lonely. The housework had to be accomplished in the evenings and Sam and Maggie were beginning to take pleasure in making things "look nice."

As I said before my work in the store rooms of the Northwest Bureau grew more interesting every day. The greatest desire of Mr. Pythias's heart was to help the Poor and he inspired all his workers with zeal in this direction. He wished too to help them permanently, to put them on the road to happy, wholesome, self-supporting lives. But this was impossible except in a very few cases. I have seen him sit at his desk with his great head bowed in his hands and doubt and perplexity filling his heart. He reminded me of the physician who puts salve on the

sore he fears will never heal; the physician who knows that his efforts may assuage the pain but can never CURE the disease.

During those days it seems to me I was absorbing views of Charity Work at every pore and from a dozen angles. I talked with the investigators and with the applicants. I read the reports made out on the various cases. I studied books by representative charity workers. Better still, I had not lived seven years in the home of the Van Cleecks without acquiring a tolerable knowledge of the lives of the rich patrons of the various organizations. It's easier to learn about their inside phases in the Servants' Quarters than it is from the drawing rooms. And what I don't know about the people from The Alley, The Dump or Bubbley Creek isn't worth putting down on the records. You see, I'm ONE OF THEM. So when I saw a motto over the mahogany desk of Mr. Copperthwaite that read:

"Not MONEY but ENCOURAGEMENT is what the Poor need"—Leo Tolstoi,

I knew it was in the Upper Element where Stupidity reigned supreme. Anybody who looks over the records of the various cases can see that either directly or indirectly the cause of distress in ninety-five cases out of one hundred is LACK of EMPLOYMENT or INSUFFICIENT INCOME. Over 65% were so reported by the investigators. But in a case like the one of John Walters, where the man deserted his wife and children because he was unable to get work and because he knew it was the only way to secure aid for them from the charity organizations, the *apparent* cause of distress is DESERTION.

Although so reported by the charity investigator, it was not because of SICKNESS that the Wineshevsky family was in need. Neither they, nor the thousands of other families that are dying every year in unhealthy tenements or unsanitary houses, choose to live in them. They love sunshine and fresh air and beautiful homes as well as anybody. But a poor wage worker has to take what he can get. And so the babies die year after year.

Rip Mahoney hadn't been a drunkard BEFORE he was injured and his family was not sinking into the hopeless mire of misery because of his drunkenness. Rip drank BECAUSE he WAS rendered hopeless, because he was unable to keep his family FROM SINKING. Of course he was unable to get any thing from the street railway company when his back was hurt. He couldn't afford a lawyer. You might say he was "improviden" because he had never been able to save anything out of his enormous salary of nine dollars a week.

I saw very clearly before I had worked very long for Mr. Pythias, that the disease that was killing my people was Poverty,

lack-of-work, and I longed to find a cure in the name of the thousands of miserable ones.

One morning in January Rosa Ferri came staggering up the long flight of stairs to the store room. She carried the baby in her arms, and Tony, a little fellow of two, pulled at her skirts, while an older boy of three or four brought up the rear. Giovanni, her husband, was in the Bridewell, sent up on a charge of Vagrancy for six months, she said. She gave me an order from the investigator for a pair of shoes for Tony.

"Corpus Christi!" she groaned, seating herself upon a chair, "an' nex' week he have a-de-job."

The hose Tony wore were stockings in name only. So I fitted him out with two pairs, almost new, and the older boy as well.

"They're all boys; aren't they, Rosa?" I asked.

"Sure, sure," she replied, sadly.

"Are you sorry?" I asked.

"Sure sure," she said. "The girls—they can make a piece of de money on de street, but BOYS——" she threw up her hands,

"They will be for sure—CROOKS."

I felt sick and weak when she spoke, for I knew it was the truth. We children of the Dump know also that if she does not return to the organization to ask for aid, Rosa is pretty certain to go out upon the street herself, unless she be of very sturdy virtue, when she will prefer to "dip the poke" (pick pockets).

My next visitor was O. Carrington Lee. Mr. Pythias brought him up, introduced us in his kindly manner and returned to his office. Mr. Lee explained that his man was bringing a lot of things which Mr. Lee wanted to donate. And the "man" shortly appeared heavily laden with clothing. There were twenty of Mr. Lee's "old suits" (as good as new) in the lot. Ten of them were of the finest linen, for Mr. Lee had wintered at Tampa, Fla. And there were fourteen fancy vests, silken hose and underwear, half a cart-load of shoes and nearly two dozen fine shirts.

I knew a great deal about Mr. Lee. Mr. Pythias was fond of talking about this man, who, in spite of his great wealth and social position, still had time and money to spend upon those who were less fortunate than he.

He was very good to look at, one of those tall, hardy, well-groomed young men who have all their lives fed upon the Cream of things; a clean-limbed, frank and noble young man who has had all those riches and pleasures handed to him that poor folks are forced to make themselves "ignoble" to secure.

He glanced around the great room with the same quick and interested manner Bob has. And my heart pounded hotly and my eyes grew moist. He was what Bob might have been if OUR father had left us two or three business blocks when HE died. Poor Bob! who was spending his young days in the House of Correction because he was forced to stealing in order to take care of mother! I looked at Mr. Lee's hands. O yes! All his fingers were there. He had never worked at a "lapping machine." Probably his father had left him the OWNER of one.

Mr. Lee walked about the store room with an assured step as though he had a right to be there.

"I want you to see, Miss Piper," he said pleasantly, "that the things I have brought over are given to WORTHY people."

"I don't understand, Mr. Lee," I said quickly, for I felt that I would choke in my wrath. He looked up surprised.

"Worthy, DESERVING," he repeated. "You understand."

"No, but I DON'T understand," I repeated. "Is there any one who is 'unworthy'?"

"But the LAZY men, the DRUNKEN men, the DISHONEST men. I mean them, of course," he said. And I must confess that he spoke kindly and earnestly. The rage and anger died out of my heart for I thought, if Bob had been born in his bed he would have been just such a strong, handsome, stupid young man. It wasn't Mr. Lee's fault that he did not know our lives. But it seemed to me then that he was our enemy for all that; that the reason he, and such men as he, might live prodigally all their lives was because we poor folks slaved ourselves to death for a pittance. But I felt weary of a sudden. We were too far apart. I could never make him understand. It seemed useless to try. I thought I would not.

Mr. Lee kept his eyes upon me. He was waiting for an answer. And I smiled a little, though my eyes were wet.

"You see, Mr. Lee," I said, "I was born in The Dump. I've lived there most of my life. I'm one of those people. I know and come from the folks some of whom you would call 'unworthy.'"

"I have a brother eighteen years old in the House of Correction. YOU would call him a criminal. He stole, I believe, in order to get money to save my mother when she was dying.

"He is younger than you. He has had scarcely any schooling, but he is a great deal smarter than you are.

"When our father was killed he left a debt which Bob worked one year to pay. He was twelve years old. He has been working almost ever since. Your father left you a great deal of valuable property. That's the only difference between you."

Just then one of the Mahoney children came up stairs with an order for a pair of trousers and some underwear, and while I was waiting on him, and trying to choke back the tears, Mr. Lee slipped away. I hoped he would not be angry or tell Mr. Pythias that I had been rude, but I was glad I had spoken anyway.

Bob spoke the truth when he said the thing that was hardest to endure was the judgment of the people who have inherited Rector Meal tickets for life. The morality they preach is wholly impossible to the Poor. Through the devious and troubled pathways which we tread the fierce struggle for existence breaks down the barriers of refinement, of modesty, of virtue and of honesty. If we are not ever intent upon the main issue, we fall on the way. To secure is to live. Some one has said, "There is not living a very poor, *honest* man." I wonder if it is because the very poor, very honest people die young!

The capitalists love a moral working man. He is patriotic! He will fight then for his country! All the Kings of Industry have to do when their warehouses are crammed to the bursting point is to pick a quarrel with one of the little countries. Somebody insults the Flag! The dear old flag! And the moral, patriotic man is up in arms in a moment ready to shoot the little Cuban, or Mexican, or Venezuelan into the eternal darkness, or to be himself shot. And so the Beef Trust gets a new market and the cotton trust another lease on life.

But honesty and industry as well as thrift are the great bulwarks of capitalism. An honest man will take nothing from the Rich. No matter how the rich man secured his wealth the honest man will have none of it. He is honest. He goes down to his grave honest. But that does not matter to the capitalist. Workingmen are a glut on the market! Always there are many more begging for jobs!

And the industrious man! Is he not a valuable employe? Is his labor not more productive to the man who hires him?

And the thrifty one! Can he not work for lower wages? Does he not save and pinch and deny himself in good times against a Rainy Day? He does not need to ask for Charity and is it not the Rich who support charity.

Verily! Verily! It seems to me that the reward of Virtue and Morality in the workingman goes very surely into the pockets of the Rich!

MARY E. MARCY.

Rich and Poor in America.



O SECURE the widest practicable distribution of wealth is a prime aim of Socialism. When industry is administered democratically rewards will be better proportioned to merit, millionaireism and pauperism destroyed. What are the inequalities of wealth now prevailing, the outcome of competitive chaos?

There is a feud between Socialistic and capitalistic writers about the distribution of wealth in the United States, and any statement made on the one side can be contraverted with equal authority on the other side. On the one hand the Census Bureau compiles formidable and cheering volumes of figures which amaze by their magnitude to the critics of our social system but carry no conviction; on the other hand radical critics make statements about the appalling poverty right across and up and down the continent which sanguine review writers hold up to scorn.

Unfortunately we have no official analysis of incomes in the United States such as Germany and Great Britain possess, and most of the Census calculations about wealth distribution deal with the ownership of property, not with the annual returns.

According to the wealth census of the United States, while we possessed in 1860 but sixteen billion dollars, in 1900 we possessed nearly six times as much, ninety-four billion dollars, though population had increased less than two and a half times. "The United States is now beyond dispute the richest nation in the world." ("American Finance," by W. R. Lawson of London.) But this wealth, which has grown more than twice as fast as population and is growing with accelerating velocity each year, instead of assuring to every industrious family a competence, is unhealthily fattening a few families while the bulk are left propertyless.

There are certain outstanding facts which cannot be disputed.

Millionaires have multiplied and multi-millionaires come into existence within the half century covered by the figures. "Between 1820 and 1830 Stephen Girard was a proverb for great wealth. In 1848 John Jacob Astor stood alone in point of wealth. To-day a great number surpass him. A fortune of \$300,000 was then regarded as constituting wealth. It was taken as a mini-

mum above which men were 'rich.' It is certain that before long some man will have a billion." (See article by Prof. Wm. G. Sumner, LL.D., "Independent," May 1st, 1902.)

How many actual millionaires there are in the United States to-day nobody knows. The number depends upon fluctuations of values in Wall Street. An active member of one of New York's most important banking and promoting houses declares that there are five thousand in New York alone—twenty-five hundred whom he could count up and twenty-five hundred more, "many of whom are absolutely unknown in Wall Street." In 1902 the "World Almanac" listed nearly 3,500 of them. They are a prolific family. In 1907 the Secretary of Agriculture stated that one gentleman, discovered to be a Mr. Weyerhauser, of whom few had previously heard, owned thirty million acres of timber. Commenting on this phenomenon, which had darted comet-like into vision, the conservative New York "Times" stated: "The time is coming when the possession of thirty million acres of wooded land may be worth more than the largest fortune of any of the hated capitalists of this hour."

"I was walking up town a few months ago with a Wall Street financier. 'Do you see that house?' he said. 'It's just been bought by Mr. Blank. Did you ever hear the name?' I admitted my ignorance. 'Well,' he continued, 'I never heard of him either till last week. He's from Podunk, and he's worth twenty millions.' Then he pointed out another house, recently bought by another unknown visitor who was rated at thirty millions. 'I'm hearing of new men worth twenty and thirty millions every week,' he said, 'and I don't know where it will all end.'" (See article by Ernest Howard Crosby, "Independent," May 1st, 1902.)

At irregular intervals the newspapers announce the death of a Lockhart, a Barnes—some man whose name is unfamiliar to the public but whose estate is probated for thirty, forty, fifty million dollars. In September, 1907, it was shown in court that a score of stockholders of the Standard Oil Company owned shares of a million dollars in value at that time and of much greater value when stock quotations were high. Why, indeed, should not the supply of millionaires be generous? How easy is their creation when the Indiana Pipe Line Company yields a profit of 200 per cent and the Southern Pipe Line makes a precisely similar showing. (See evidence in Federal suit at New York against the Standard Oil Company, 1907.) Getting rich is surely easy to the man who, entrenched within a trust industry, receives back double his investment each year. It is simpler than betting on loaded dice.

In October, 1907, the public learned for the first time that a

trust deed had transferred from the Lake Superior Company to four trustees, three of them sons of Mr. James J. Hill, various ore-lands "in trust, to be held during the life of a number of individuals mentioned in the deed of trust and for twenty years beyond the death of the last survivor." It may be judged for what period the deed runs when it is noticed that some of the persons named in it are grandchildren of James J. Hill. One provision of the deed is that the president of the trustees shall receive a substantial salary "until such time as the gross income of the trust equals five millions a year, and thereafter the percentage upon the gross income over five millions." Here is record of an empire which is coolly calculated to yield an income of five million dollars to the members of one family and a few of their associates—and five millions income represents a hundred millions of capitalized wealth or enough to create a hundred millionaires at one swoop out of nothing.

Though our information may not be exact enough to enable us to say precisely what proportion of the wealth of the country is owned by the richest of the population, clearly we can heartily endorse the verdict of a conservative writer: "If it were known what the possessions of the 126,000 richest families in the United States are, the result would be all that any agitator need ask." ("The Social Unrest," by John Graham Brooks, page 164.)

The rulers among this class of millionaires control, each one, many millions, how many no one can correctly estimate. But it is known with certainty that Mr. Andrew Carnegie received 217 millions in mortgage bonds for his interest in steel works when the United States Steel Corporation was established, and Mr. John D. Rockefeller's interest in the Standard Oil Company alone was worth 109 million dollars in September, 1907, with the quotation at \$440 a share. And who shall say what is the correct capitalization of each share when the Standard of Indiana was shown in court to have earned one thousand per cent on its capital and the profits of the Standard Oil Company in 1906 rose to over 83 millions?

Below the members of the millionaire families come the industrial leaders, the heads of the learned professions, the successful merchants, the country bankers—people with incomes going from three to thirty thousand dollars per annum or thereabouts, who inhabit those long streets of beautiful houses which adorn the suburbs and the best residential quarters of our cities. Along with them might be put the most prosperous farmers. Their numbers I shall not attempt to calculate. They form the middle classes.

Rapidly shading down from this class we reach the mass of the wage earners who have the best right to be dissatisfied

with the existing distribution of the national income. How much are they receiving? It is upon their condition, compared with the condition of the classes higher up, that this part of the argument of Socialism rests.

I make no exhibit of the miserable statistics of pauperism, of the restless regiments of hoboes, of the sad occupants of our penitentiaries. Socialism is not a gospel of despair. It does not rest upon the assertion that the poor are getting poorer and all but a few millionaires threatened with starvation. Its argument is not addressed chiefly to the submerged tenth. It does not attempt to prove that Americans in mass are half-starved slaves. It rejoices that, as I once heard one of the foremost English Socialists say, "Probably the eighty millions in America are better fed than ever eighty millions before." So rich are the natural resources of our country, so energetic are our people, so inventive are our artisans, so stimulating is such freedom as our institutions confer, that the output of products each year surpasses the wildest dreams of a century ago. Therefore very few of our citizens need go to bed supperless in ordinary times, especially as our city charities are lavish. Our forefathers with their devotion to democracy, their ideal of equality, were not entirely fools. They established laws and institutions which have given to the Americans a better outlook, a fuller subsistence than ever Europeans enjoyed.

It is true that in New York 10 per cent are buried in a pauper's grave; it is true that around the Chicago stockyards hideous degradation and grinding poverty degrades our civilization (see "The Jungle," by Upton Sinclair); it is true that in every large city there is a slum section where puny children—dirty, ill-clad, anemic—swarm in the gutters; where vice and crime flourish luxuriantly and men and women stumble at middle age into the grave. But pitiable as is the lot of these swarming crowds, they do not, thank Heaven, as yet represent our civilization. It may be plausibly argued that a large proportion of the adults in the noisome quarters of our big cities, the failures of society, cannot be debited to our economic system; and that their children, the victims of the parents' ignorance, weakness or vice, may be rescued without our accepting collectively the responsibility for the submergence of the parents. Most of the adults, it will be said, are recent immigrants, struggling up from the still lower condition in which they sweltered in the country of their birth. They have been granted asylum and opportunity to rise. They came voluntarily; their coming shows that they prefer our country to their own; American institutions could hardly be expected immediately to raise them to refinement and comfort. Still others are the moral and physical degenerates who will burden any

society and regeneration is the fit task of our charitable and rescue organizations; but for whom we cannot alter our whole industrial life.

The case for Socialism does not depend upon the rebuttal of this argument. It is not a system primarily for aiding the abject failures. Its appeal is to the capable who manage to float in the social sea even more than to the few who are submerged. The half-fed, struggling, weak-minded weak-willed denizens of the abyss have never of themselves secured greater freedom, and any system which rested upon their activity and co-operation would be doomed to failure. But above them come the millions of wage-earners and farmers who compose the plain people of Lincoln's admiration and the politician's lip homage, and whose energy and intelligence sustain the national life. What share are our great troops of workers in mill and mine and factory and field and forest getting of the fabulous increase of riches, measured both by income and by capital values, to which our Census returns testify?

Here again we meet the difficulty of fluctuating prices and conflicting estimates. Therefore to avoid all appearance of unfairness I shall discard entirely socialistic statisticians; I shall accept the estimates of the enemy.

Let us begin with Mr. Carroll D. Wright, former United States Commissioner of Labor. He is accused by Socialist editors of presenting rose-colored figures, purposely tinted to defend our civilization and our political parties. In May, 1902, in an argument to show how widely wealth is distributed, he said ("The Independent"): "It is safe to assume that the average wages paid the eighteen million wage receivers in the United States annually is \$400." This agrees with the return made by the Canadian Census Bureau in 1907, showing the average income of persons fifteen years old or older working at gainful occupations in 1901, to have been for males \$387 and for females \$120, the occupations in the return ranging from fishing and agriculture up to professional classes.

Professor Johan A. Ryan ("The Living Wage," published in 1906 under the editorship of Professor Richard T. Ely), after weighing all the facts given in a number of official reports (none of them accepted as impartial by Socialist writers), concludes that "At least 60 per cent of the adult male wage earners (outside of agriculture, where the remuneration is much lower, but the cost of living not so high) obtain less than \$600 per year."

Since he wrote, the Bureau of Labor (Bulletin July, 1907) has issued the results of an investigation covering the whole of the United States, of the average wages and hours of labor in a variety of the trades carried on in cities. This shows that wages

have risen in the decade from 1896 to 1906, but that prices have risen as fast. For every \$10.00 which one of the city wage earners received in 1896 he was getting \$12.40 in 1906. But the for food which he paid \$9.60 in the former year cost him \$11.60 in the latter year.

Clothing, rent, amusements and the thousand and one little things besides food which every household must purchase, increased in price in similar proportion. Therefore, accepting patriotically, without challenge, the figures of the Bureau of Labor, it is clear that, measured in purchasing power, the workman's wages *remained stationary*; and this in a decade when, according to our Census Bureau, the national wealth, the savings of the land, which these battalions of wage earners did most to create, increased by about 25 billion dollars (see "Wealth and Distribution in the United States in 1904"; Bulletin of the U. S. Census Bureau)—enough to give each family, if it were evenly distributed, savings of about \$1,500. The head of a family on Mr. Carroll D. Wright's average of \$400 a year, must have lived, he and his wife and children, like anchorites, on \$4.70 a week during the whole decade and saved all the remainder with the saintliness of the "economic man" to secure his share of the savings.

This most recent return made in the hey-day of business activity, reports that of the 334,000 employes included in the return, not less than 22.5 per cent received less than ten dollars a week wages and 15.7 per cent received from ten to twelve dollars a week. (Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, July, 1907, pp. 26-60.) Therefore, making a deduction for lost time or for vacations of only a fortnight in the year, it appears that in the twelve months of flush prosperity, among the best-paid city wage-earners 38.2 per cent got not more than \$600, a sum with the same purchasing power (according to the same report) as \$500 had ten years earlier: while 22.5 per cent received only \$500 or less, which was equivalent to \$413 ten years earlier.

I admit cheerfully that in this period of prosperity the workman was better off than in the gloomy years of business depression. He gained by the greater steadiness of labor. His total earnings were higher, his household accounts easier, because, forsooth, he was guaranteed the privilege of working more steadily from January to December.

On Mr. Carroll D. Wright's average of \$400 a year, not only would a workman and his wife be mad to adopt President Roosevelt's ideal of a large family, but they cannot rear a small family; nay, they cannot maintain even themselves in a manner befitting "sovereign citizens." When sovereigns were kings, who would have dared to suggest that \$400 a year were sufficient

for a king and his royal mate? Today citizens are kings. Dare we argue that for our monarch and his mate \$400 a year is proper subsistence? Vacations, books, newspapers, amusements, insurance against sickness and old age—how shall these be provided for even two people on less than ten dollars a week? And, if babies come, where is provision for the doctor, nurse, tiny garments, extra food and strong clothes as the youngster grows? Though education is free, can the people afford to send the lads and lasses, whose wants increase with their years, through the high-school; and is not a high-school education the minimum requisite for a “sovereign citizen?”

I shall not enter the controversy as to what sum constitutes a “living wage.” One expert reporter, a college professor, has shown by the exact details of his household expenditures that \$3,000 a year is insufficient for his family (“What Shall College Professors Be Paid?” by G. H. M., “Atlantic Monthly”), and I can detect no item in that budget which anybody I know would consider superfluous for his family.

Yes, yes, I am aware that \$3,000 a year is far beyond the standard of European peasants and artisans and perhaps more than our own bountiful national income can provide as yet for every family. That does not affect the argument.

This point is clear. Whether one thousand, two thousand or three thousand be the annual family allowance possibly available, so long as the busy workers get only \$400, and comparative idlers—the Astors, Goulds, Vanderbilts, et al.—four millions; there is something rotten in the state of Denmark. We need not be concerned as to whether a family of five might subsist on less than \$400 a year. We know without further argument that an industrial “system” which produces such inequalities is woefully imperfect; that any method which will drain wealth from the palace and pour it into the cottage will make ideal conditions of life more widespread; will bring the cottagers nearer to the minimum which no man, however philosophic, is willing to have his own family fall below. If there be not enough to give every family a sufficiency, the more reason for making the distribution equitable; for depriving the upper ten per cent of their power and temptation to waste.

These city workers include the best organized workmen whose wages have increased most rapidly. We do not know exactly how the small tradesman, the humbler doctors and lawyers, the teachers, the farm workers and the battalions of unskilled laborers have fared. Assuming, however, that they have done as well as their better organized city colleagues, why should these millions who carry the burden of our industrial, agricultural and commercial life be content? True, they enjoy comforts which

Queen Elizabeth did not know ; true, their table contains a variety of foods which George Washington might have envied ; true, they can ride on street cars and read cheap newspapers, which to George the Fourth would have seemed miracles of speed and of entertainment. These changes, which their critics are so fond of calling to their attention, we do not deny. But the question is not whether they have received a little of the advantages of scientific invention and improved production, but whether they receive a *fair share* of the improvements. It is nothing to the point to show that the workman of today is better off materially than the workman of the last century. The question is, since our wealth has increased so marvellously with the result that millionaires have multiplied and hundred-millionaires, a monstrous brood, have been evolved, while a middle class enjoys incomes which only the richest enjoyed a century ago, why should the propertyless wage-earners not strive for an organization of industry, an improvement in their condition which will not leave them, even when they are fully employed, with only \$400 a year on an average and 60 per cent of them with less than \$600 a year.

Only one form of organization can secure for the worker the big slice of the national cake which is now eaten in idleness by bond-holder, trust manipulator and city landlord. By only one form of organization can the startling inequalities of fortune that have marked recent decades be cured, the highest average of well-being attained, degrading poverty and debilitating luxury alike prevented. That organization is the co-operative form, the democratic assumption of ownership, risks, management and profits, a form culminating in the co-operative commonwealth, the glowing goal of Socialism.

JOHN MARTIN.

The Growth of Socialism in Australia.



SOCIALISTS in Australia have every reason to be pleased with the growth of the Socialist movement in Australia. Until a comparatively recent date, within the last two years, the Socialists only existed as scattered organizations without practically any cohesive power. Recognizing the necessity of uniting in order to present a solid front to the enemy, a conference was held about two years ago, the outcome of which was the present Socialist Federation of Australia, the S. L. P., a small but commendably militant organization, remaining outside. As indicative of the progress since made it may be stated that at the second conference, held in June of this year, the delegates who took part in that assembly represented a membership of several thousand. Especially gratifying was the message from the New Zealand Socialist party, affiliating with the Federation, the numerical strength of the N. Z. party being, I believe, between two and three thousand. As regards the objective of the Federation, it is frankly revolutionary, and by a unanimous vote the conference passed a strongly-worded resolution warning the working class against the side-tracking "reforms" that are dangled before their eyes by the Labor party and other middle-class political organizations.

As regards the trades unionism question, the Federation endorses and supports the principles of industrial unionism, very properly recognizing, as I hold, that this is the only possible form of industrial organization that can be advocated by Socialists who recognize the position Capitalism has reached in industrial evolution!

At the present time everything seems to be playing into the hands of the Socialists. That much-vaunted reform, compulsory arbitration, that was to bring the dear brothers, capital and labor, even closer, has completely broken and there is now none so poor to do it reverence! This is only one of a score of other "reforms" for the "dear workingman" that have completely failed, as foretold by the Socialists. Let me here say that if there is still a comrade in the American movement who believes in the "something now" bill reforms, then he, or she, would do well to study the complete failure of that policy in Australia and New Zealand, the countries that more than any other have "experimented" in these things. The failure then of the reforms advō-

cated by the Labor party has had the effect of opening the eyes of quite a number of the workers to the folly of further supporting a party that is a Labor party only in name, and are now recognizing the truth of Socialist philosophy. Even some of the more advanced labor papers in the colonies are now lampooning their party for the pitiable ignorance of economics and Socialist philosophy in general shown by the parliamentarians. As I write this article the master class are busily engaged in an attempt to work up excitement over the visit of the American fleet, which will arrive here shortly. The Federation and I. W. W. Club, to which belong both members of the Federation and S. L. P. and which is making good progress, will hold anti-militarist demonstration in the various states, a piece of propaganda work that is likely to be very effective. Three papers are published by parties affiliated with the Federation. They are: "The Socialist," the organ of the Victorian Socialist party; "The Flame," the organ of the Broken Hill Socialist party, and the "Socialist Review," the organ of the International Socialists of New South Wales. It was decided at the last conference that as soon as possible these papers should be amalgamated, the Federation to have one weekly official organ and a monthly "International Socialist Review" for Australia. All the organizations hold regular propaganda meetings in the various cities and states and have nothing to complain of in the matter of audiences. Indeed, of late the main difficulty in connection with the indoor propaganda work is to get theaters and halls that are large enough! Tom Mann, who is the organizer for the Victorian party, has just returned from a propaganda run in New Zealand and there, as here, he reports the movement is now forging well to the front. From what has been said American comrades will see that Australasia is making the necessary preparations for the social revolution.

Optimism, not pessimism, holds the field with Australian Socialists at the present time, and optimism that the writer feels is by no means misplaced.

H. SCOTT BENNETT.

New South Wales, Australia.

The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem.

CHAPTER V. (Concluded.)

The Re-establishment of White Supremacy.

Such are a few of the results of the epoch of the white man supremacy upon the fate of the 10 millions of negroes living in the south. Such oppression of the conquered and beaten foe the negroes never practiced in the worst days of the black man's supremacy. Every day in his life the colored man, or even the man who by the faintest symptoms discloses his partial relationship with the African race, is reminded that he is not a full citizen of the country in which he was born, but only a tolerated pariah, a despised and a hated intruder; and this relation is justified by the plea, that he is a member of a lower, i. e., a less cultured, a less intellectually developed race; but the peculiar paradox is that the more cultured, the more intellectual, the more like the superior race the colored man or woman is, the more is he hated and despised. This relation between the races undoubtedly represents a noticeable aggravation of conditions as compared with those before the war; and this is frequently pointed out by the southerners, who, nevertheless, entirely misunderstand the real nature of the changes that have taken place.

The facts themselves are undisputable. Says a very intelligent southern observer: "To-day there is practically no social intercourse between the two races, excepting such as exists between the negroes and the most degraded white. It was far different in slavery. Then the two races mingled freely together, not in terms of social equality but in very extended and constant social intercourse. In almost every household the children of the two races played and frolicked together, or hunted, fished or swam together in the fields, streams and forests. Social intercourse between white and black during slavery was not confined to children. Visits to the slave cabin were made regularly, often daily, by the white woman of the household, who went not merely to visit the sick and inspect the children, to advise and direct about work and household matters, but to show her personal interest and regard for the negroes themselves, not as slaves nor workers, but as individuals, as human beings and sometimes as dear

friends. In short a social visit was made; not upon terms of social equality but still a social visit during which the news of the plantation or neighborhood was exchanged and discussed..... The mistress sewed or cut garments in the same room with the slave seamstresses. The lady's maid slept upon a couch or pallet in the lady's chamber or the one adjoining..... But the social intercourse between the races in the south which was so helpful to the blacks, has now practically ceased. The children of this generation no longer play and frolic together, while ladies no longer visit negro cabins."

Nevertheless, the new relations have naturally developed from the soil of the old patriarchal relations of the slavery times. For the foundation of the new relations must be sought in the slavery that had existed so recently, and in the natural results of the destruction of that patriarchal atmosphere which had in those earlier days somewhat softened, and in the eyes of the southerners, even justified slavery. The preceding pages of this study have, it is hoped, shown conclusively enough, that these conceptions of the lower race, and the impossibility of the equality of races, have had their foundations laid some three centuries ago. And the memories of the civil war, and the days of reconstruction, have only added some venom and bitterness to these views.

It must be conceded that the majority of the restrictions indicated above materially affect only the higher circles of the negro race. At the bottom of the social ladder, where intellectual life is very much limited, and the entire existence is reduced to one elemental struggle for its own preservation, the insults to one's self-respect or vanity are much less felt, and even seldom noticed at all. The proletarian negro does not make any efforts to be admitted to the theatre, or to the fashionable hotel, and when travelling on the railroad, pays a great deal less attention to the surroundings and the comforts of the car. Nevertheless, it would be quite wrong to conclude therefrom that the negro problem is only a problem of the owning classes, or of the educated few. The negro laborer or skilled worker feels the damnation of his race almost as acutely. One must not forget, that negro-hating has entered into its worst stage,—the stage of fashion. The lowest classes of the superior white race imitate the higher classes except that they express their hatred of the negro in a much rougher, cruder manner. The white workingman refuses to work next to the black workingman, and in the industrial development of the south, the black race gets only the roughest sort of work. The negro will not be permitted to

work like the white man and women behind one of the looms of a cotton factory, though he may be employed at the subsidiary occupation of cleaning up the factory. Thus the poor and underpaid white factory slaves of the south still preserve, or think that they preserve, their right to look down upon the black man. Even disregarding the mental effects of such discrimination, the material interests of the colored working-man are very visibly affected thereby.

But, to be frank, how could one for a moment imagine that with the total destruction of the participation of the negroes in the framing of the laws, and in the administration, and in view of the natural enmity which the events of the preceding decades have created, that in view of such conditions the essential rights will remain unmolested, their interests not injured? It is true that the regenerated capitalistic southerner does not any more openly dream of the reestablishment of slavery, though he still sighs after the convenient custom of slavery. It is true that the south has had time and opportunity to learn the blessings of free labor. Nevertheless the southerner's conception of what constitutes free labor, is a peculiar one, and the southerner has always approved of methods of "reasonable" compulsion of that free labor.

In speaking of the period immediately following the civil war, I have indicated the many special laws against vagrancy, which were passed for the special benefit of the negroes, and made possible the instantaneous arrest and public sale of many negroes into temporary slavery or what amounted to such, for the slightest infringement of the laws, or without any such infringement at all.

Since then, the special black code, i. e., the special criminal code for the black race, was abolished, but the exceptional position of the negro before the law has remained in fact, if not in theory. For the south, impoverished as it was by the war and the subsequent years of reconstruction, the system of renting out their criminals and making them a source of revenue instead of expense, had its signal advantages, and the ignorant mass of negroes, among whom petty infringements of laws were naturally very frequent furnished excellent material for increase of state revenues. The white judges acted as if they were trying to collect from the negro vagrants the damages which the white south had suffered during the short days of the negro domination. In the eighties when the southern writer Cable was investigating this problem, the practice of renting out the negro criminals had reached enormous dimensions. The practice embraced tens of thousands of negroes annually. The negro criminal's labor

was not only sold in the prison building, but was even permitted to leave the prison for the farm of the purchaser, and when these criminals were taken out in chains to work on private plantations, very little difference could be found between this and slavery labor. As the very interesting investigations of Cable have shown, the southern criminal records included ten times as many negroes as whites, and the average sentence of the negro was at least twice as long as that of the white man; the heavy sentences often reached the limits of absurdity, as when, in 1879 a Georgia negro was sentenced to twenty years' hard labor for stealing a pig.

But enforced "free" labor in the south was not at all limited to the real criminals. This form of enforced labor has somewhat abated in the south within the recent years, but a new form of such enforced labor has sprung up in several southern states, of a much more contemptible form. That the question of peonage could become acute in the beginning of the twentieth century, serves as the best proof imaginable how the suppression of the political rights has influenced the material condition of the negro in the south, and how far material advantage was behind this effort of political oppression.

Within the last few years cases of peonage have been discovered in the states of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi. Not only the pettiest crimes, or even the failure to pay debts, have been used as a pretext for the state authorities to come to the assistance of the southern planter in establishing the system of peonage, but often nothing but plain brute force could be cited in defense of the practice. Either criminals who have served their term were not permitted to leave their camps, or other negroes were hunted down and brought into the camp. It is almost incredible, yet true nevertheless, and thoroughly established by documentary evidence, before various investigation committees, and before the juries of various states.

It was established by these committees and before these juries, that the system of peonage has been quite extensive in these two states and several others, and that it existed under direct support of local legislatures, administration, and judiciary. The criminal prosecution of the planters guilty of practicing this system of peonage was only possible because of the federal statutes. The investigation disclosed not only the wide spread nature of these practices, since in Alabama alone 99 cases of peonage came to the knowledge of the courts, but also the extremely cruel treatment of the peons.

These disclosures have called out many expressions of

condemnation in the American press. But that these facts could exist for many years without the northern press knowing anything about it, and without the southern press, which could not help knowing them, saying anything about it, may serve as a characteristic symptom of the present status of the negro question. No less significant is the fact, that in the first case which came up for trial in Alabama, it was impossible to get a conviction. There could be seen one of the practical results of the ineligibility of negroes for jury service.

It is true, that the jurymen, who insisted upon the acquittal were severely censured by the federal judge. It is true that verdicts of guilty were brought out in other cases; that the northern press loudly proclaimed its deep satisfaction, and that even some southern newspapers insisted that these verdicts denoted a signal improvement in the condition of the negroes in the south.

But it is no less significant, that the South was very far from unanimous in its condemnation of peonage, and that even a northern paper, the famous New York Herald,—which in its long career has defended every vicious political condition in this country as well as in many foreign countries,—that the New York Herald thought it proper to come out in defense of the southern planter, with the argument that cotton culture could not get along without contract labor, and without the use of corporal punishment and arm force in the effort to enforce the contract. Said the southern planter, as reported by the New York Herald: "Whether Judge Jones has declared this law constitutional or not, the planters in the black belt will have to maintain their right to reclaim their contract labor, or else they will have to go out of business. Under any other system you would find it impossible to get in your cotton, because the negroes at the critical time would simply sit down and refuse to work. When they are well, we compel our laborers to go to field by force." When asked by the reporter whether he had ever whipped a negro himself, the planter answered: "Yes, I have, we have to do it once in a while. A negro ran away, from me, and hid in the next plantation, eleven miles away. I went after him with my negro foreman. I took him out of the cabin with a revolver in my hand and drove him home. There I took it out of him with a buggy whip, while the negro foreman held him."

These arguments of the southern planters need not be dignified with any serious economic refutation. But what is extremely significant and noteworthy, is the defense of enforced, practically slave, labor forty years after the emancipation of the slaves. It is perhaps worth while to point out,

that by far not all this peonage labor is the result of a free contract, as the southern planter would have us believe. Thus in the very trial, which ended in the disagreement of the jury, the case was of a young negro boy, who was forced to work in payment of a fine for no greater a crime than vagrancy—vagrancy in a country which has no passport system.

The preceding dry enumeration of specific cases of suppression of the rights of the negroes, does not give any vivid picture of the real situation. To do that, it is not enough to be a painstaking observer of facts; only a great artist could give a true picture, which should convey the proper impression to one who has never lived in the south. Barring such direct experiences and observations, it would be necessary to quote hundreds of concrete illustrations so as to build up synthetically the true story of that suffocating atmosphere in which must spend all his life the negro of even limited culture, intelligence and sensitiveness. To the northerner, and even more the man who has come to learn the ways and habits of this country from abroad, these facts are often horrible. blood-boiling. Often his sense of justice is wounded most by those little incidents which may not have any serious import in themselves, but serve as an illustration of the general attitude towards the entire race. Such an incident, which remained perfectly beyond the comprehension of European society was the celebrated White House breakfast with Booker Washington, at the President's table. It was only a few months before that incident occurred, that the attitude of the south in regard to such matters, was succinctly stated by that fanatical negro hater, John Temple Graves:

"Take Booker Washington. He is the type and embodiment of all worth and all achievement in his race. His linen is as clear as yours. His fame is broader than the repute of any statesman in this hall. His character stainless and unimpeachable, defies criticism. His patriotism is clear, his courtesy unflinching. And yet I challenge this conference with a proposition: What man of you, gentlemen, philosophers, statesmen, metaphysicians, problem solvers that you are, what man of you would install this great and blameless negro in your guest chamber to night?

Would you do this now? Would you do it to-morrow? Would you do it in ten years? When would you do it? And why would you refuse to do it?"

Evidently, Graves was sure of his answer.

How relentless is the southerner in his pursuit of the negro, and how strong his desire to destroy all vestiges of civil rights, the following case may serve to illustrate. It was

mentioned above, that the courts of the southern states systematically exclude the negroes from the jurybox. Not only the democratic judges of the State courts, but even the republican judges of the federal courts are equally relentless in this practice. In 1898 in the state of Louisiana, a very light mulatto was accidentally selected to serve on a jury, because even the southern gentlemen did not recognize in him a member of the negro race. During the very first recess the fact leaked out, that a "negro" was among the twelve men good and true, and the remaining eleven jurymen immediately signed a protest against the inclusion of the mulatto, and by agreement of the counsel and the state attorney with the judge the negro was "excused." The incident caused a great deal of commotion among the negro population of the town and a protest against the action of the federal judge was sent to the U. S. Senate, where a resolution was immediately passed commanding the Attorney General to investigate the incident. In reply to this inquiry, the Attorney General presented letters from the judge as well as from the prosecuting attorney in the case, stating that they had the perfect right to remove the jurymen, that this did not constitute any infringement of the man's rights, that in fact they were forced to act in the way they did, for otherwise they would have never have been able to get a jury together, as the other jurymen absolutely refused to serve in conjunction with that man; that the case was going to be a long one, and would necessitate the jury sleeping and eating together. These explanations were considered satisfactory by the senate, and the case was dropped.

It was stated above, that mixed marriages are prohibited and are not recognized by law. Some five years ago the following case occurred in Alabama. A white woman, who had been married to a "white negro" for about fifteen years, after his death demanded her part of the estate. The court of the first instance refused her petition on the plea that her marriage was illegal, notwithstanding the fact that she had stated that at the time of her marriage she did not know that her husband belonged to the negro race. The supreme court of her state affirmed the decision of the lower court.

It is well known, that all state officers are absolutely beyond the reach of the negroes in the south. But a great many public offices and positions in the South are filled from Washington, and when the federal government is in the hand of the Republican party, petty positions are frequently given to negroes in payment of the negro's support of the republican party. This is now recognized as a historical institution, but

the southern protests against this practice are becoming stronger and stronger every day, no matter how petty the position given to the negro. The case in the little town of Indianola is still vivid in the memories of all, when the appointment of a negro as postmaster has called out such disorders that the Post Office Department was forced to close the postoffice of that town. It is true that the federal service has a long and complicated civil service act, which on the whole works quite well. But this excepts the negroes. If a negro who has passed the best civil service examination is appointed to the petty position of a letter carrier, the most southern towns force the resignation of such a letter carrier by threats, intimidation, and even do not stop at direct violence.

These few characteristic cases are sufficient for our purpose, for they illustrate the tendency, which has grown up upon the basis of material interests, but is now extending to all possible forms of social life. The relations are not improved either by the education of the black men. For if the french author Dumas or the great Russian poet Pushkin, both of whom had a strong vein of negro blood in them, were to live in the south to-day, they would be treated no better than any other ordinary "nigger". A Virginia physician, residing in Washington, stated to me without any feeling of shame, that negroes were making life intolerable in Washington, for there he dare not knock down a negro, who does not leave a sidewalk when meeting him. Medical societies refuse to admit negro physicians into their membership, no matter what their personal achievements. One cannot help indorsing the words of Judge Powell of Mississippi, in reference to the efforts of several towns in that state to expell all their negroes from their limits: "I confess, gentlemen, I cannot understand this foolish hostility to the negro. He is here without his consent, and here undoubtedly he must remain in large numbers. He has been eliminated by our constitution and laws from all political control. He asks not for social recognition. He only asks the poor privilege of working for his daily bread in peace, and to indulge in hope that the coming years may bring something better to his posterity. We of white race have all the offices of power, from Governor to constable, and the negro is simply the creature of our mercy. It strikes me that for us to oppress where we should protect, to debase where we might lift up, is unmanly and unworthy of the proud race to which we belong."

The symphthetic judge did not even suspect that in the very deliverance of one part of the population into the tender

mercy of the other part lay the real secret of this persecution and injustice.

"So much for the negro in the South, and his place, the place the southerner gives him. What of the negro in the North. There he has no place at all. Says the Northerner: We have no place for the negro. We don't like him. Take him away."

Thus a Southern lady writing in an English magazine an apology for the Southern treatment of the negro.

In these words is seen the characteristic desire of the southerner to show that the negro is worse off in the North than in the south and that the North therefore has nothing to reproach the South with. It is scarcely necessary to say that this point of view represents an extreme exaggeration. That the negro is better off in the north than he is in the south, is shown by the fact that the immigration of the negroes northward is growing, notwithstanding the unfavorable climate of the north. Thus in the North Atlantic states the total number of negroes during the decade 1890-1900 increased from 269,906 to 385,020 or by 42.6 per cent, while the increase of the negroes in the country at large was only 18.1 per cent. But it is certainly true that the conditions in the north are far from ideal for the negro, especially the intelligent, cultured negro. It is true that there are no legislative restrictions of the civil or political rights of the negro, and that the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the constitution have been of some permanent value to the negro of the north. The political rights of the negro once granted remained inviolable. The social intolerance towards the negro, has somewhat decreased, though it has not yet vanished altogether. Sporadic instances of the revival of the old feelings occur now and then. While the president has not hesitated to put Mr. Booker Washington at his table and treat him as his equal, nevertheless, the aristocratic white servants of the rich still eat at a separate table from the negro servant. While the theatres admit the negroes, yet every now and then the demands of a southerner in regard to the ejection of a negro patron are complied with. First class hotels still persist in declining to serve negroes, but the majority of the second class hotels are getting rid of of this race pride. The majority of the Northern Universities, (though by no means all) admit negro male students on terms of absolute equality with the white students, and among the male students there occasionally may be found absolute freedom from the racial prejudice. But the condition of affairs is different in the female colleges, most of which firmly

decline to accept any students with ever so slight an admixture of negro blood. In those few colleges, where female negro students are admitted, the white students refuse to have anything at all to do with them. The terrible scandal which was caused by the discovery that one of the students in the aristocratic Vassar was found to be a negress, (i. e., a white girl with such a small mixture of negro blood that there was no trace of it in her appearance, is still remembered by many. On the other hand many state and municipal institutions receive negro students of both sexes without any restrictions whatsoever. Here the state appears to be a progressive force in comparison with some social strata. In the majority of the northern cities the common schools are the same for both races, though in some cities the local feeling has forced separation. New York City has even seen a few negro school teachers in classes of white children, though their position was not enviable and they often wandered from one school to another.

In general, it may be said, that the north is more ready to recognize the rights of the prominent exceptional negro; the capitalist, the artist, scientist, poet, writer, etc., while the south is emphatically opposed to any such favorable distinctions; "once a nigger always a nigger," and that is all there is to it; that is the southerner's absolute decree. Northern papers and magazines frequently invite the collaboration of negro writers and public men; the south does not think that the best negro is capable of saying anything that is worth listening to. The northerner is less fanatical to the presence of a drop of negro blood; and if the drop is slight, and not noticeable, is willing to disregard it.

Nevertheless, those rude incidents which with relentless cruelty remind the negro of his belonging to a lower race, and which are so frequent in the south, are sometimes met with in the north as well. Here a negro will be forced out of his honest employment, there a neighborhood will rise in revolt at a perfectly respectable negro buying a house on the exclusive street.

In the northern cities those cases excite some attention, so as to be recorded in the daily press, while in the south the situation is so well agreed upon, that no paper would consider it worth while mentioning it, and so a search through the files of northern papers might disclose a great number of these cases. Yet one cannot tell, that these cases represent a well formed plan or attitude towards the negro. The average northerner of some education and intelligence will not permit himself to express any prejudice towards the negroes, but

when it is a question of personal relations in private life, one can find side by side with many cases of absolute tolerance, **also** numerous cases of a feeling of disgust, which the persons affected do not all try to analyse. On one hand it is an unconscious survival of the old, on the other it shows the effect of the moral contamination of the south, the effect of fashion, and imitation.

And this effect of fashion is remarkably well displayed by the northerners who come down to live in the south. For the average American is nothing but a faithful slave of fashion, and is dreadfully afraid of any effort to overcome and resist it. Before the average northerner has lived a week in the south, he stops calling the negro "mister", and loudly proclaims the doctrine of the inferiority of the negro race. In this the southerner finds the strongest corroboration of the justice of his own attitude on the question, disregarding the fact that the northerner does not change his opinion out of any serious considerations or study of conditions, but simply out of the desire to fall in line, which makes his future business and personal relations with local society so much easier and pleasanter. Thus because of the increasing intercourse between the north and the south, the contamination of race hatred is enabled to find its victims far beyond the geographical limits within which it is historically logical.

(To be continued.)

I. M. ROBBINS.



The Economic Interpretation of Politics. The editor of the *Nation*, the weekly edition of the *Evening Post* of New York City, is an able and clear-headed writer who is more fortunate than the editors of the papers published by capitalists for the edification of workmen. His paper is read by capitalists and by many of the professors, writers and editors who help make "public opinion." These people need to know the truth themselves, and the editor of the *Nation* therefore writes with a freedom that is altogether exceptional. In summing up the issues of the present campaign he says:

"When one considers the attempt this year to make out in the official platforms sharp issues between the Republicans and the Democrats, one merely gets a new impression of the confusion of current politics, and of the way in which old shibboleths and party watchwords have lost their force. . . . When both parties have come to the same things, neither can attack the other with anything but artificial zeal. . . . Hence, if there is to be excitement in the campaign, it must be extra-political. The truth is that sagacious observers are already looking more to the business than to the political situation. The former may easily dominate the latter. If conditions in the industrial world should not sensibly improve; if thousands of men remain out of work; if they see their savings disappear and the pinch of another winter coming, with no sure promise of better times, then, indeed, we might expect exciting times, which could not fail to be reflected in politics. The one critical sign which the shrewd managers of both parties are watching is the state of trade. If there is much to be said for the economic interpretation of history, there is more to be said for the economic interpretation of politics. Parties go solemnly through their motions, yet in their hearts they know that the result of the election may easily depend, not upon party creed or party leaders, but upon the reduced shipments of iron ore from the Great Lakes, the number of idle men in Pittsburg and Youngstown, St. Louis and Chicago and New York, the size of the wheat and corn and cotton crops, and the prices they bring. Let him who wants real excitement eschew platforms and campaign speeches, and study grain reports and the iron output and the earnings of railways. They are to be this year bigger than all the politicians."

The *Nation* is not alone in the opinion we have just quoted. Mr. E. H. Harriman was interviewed on Sept. 15 by a special representative of the Chicago Tribune, which quotes him as saying that "so far as the business of his railroads was concerned it would make no difference who was elected President." By this of course he means that it makes little difference to the railroads whether the next President is Bryan or Taft. If the working class had become intelligent enough to make Debs' election probable, he might talk in a different strain. But the industrial conditions mentioned by the *Nation* are doing the work of education for us. When industry runs smoothly and the laborers seem to be secure from month to month and year to year in wages which, though scanty, are as good as they ever had, then it is only the brighter and more thoughtful among them who are likely to look around or ahead enough to become revolutionists. But when the patient wage-slaves suddenly find themselves idle and hungry through no fault of their own, they wake up to the fact that the social system under which they live is not giving them what they want, and they begin to listen to what the Socialists have to say. All signs indicate that next winter will bring more terrible sufferings to the workers of the United States than they have ever known before. Two million votes for Debs would bring hope out of despair for the millions of toilers crushed by the machines they tend but as yet can not control. Two million votes would sweep all side issues out of the way and bring to the front the one vital question, Capitalism or Socialism,—shall the workers continue to hand over most of what they produce to a small owning class, or shall they keep it all for themselves?

The Backwardness of America. Why is organized Socialism in America so far behind organized Socialism in Europe? Here there are no feudal lords with special political privileges, the workers generally have votes, speech and press are freer than in most countries, and yet our Socialist movement has thus far lagged behind those of the rest of the civilized world. A clue to the answer will be found if we remember that the prevailing ideas of any generation do not necessarily correspond to the current mode of production, as might hastily be assumed by a new convert to the theory of economic determinism. True, they are modified continually by the current mode of production, but they have been developed under previous modes of production. This is the plain prose of a truth glimpsed by Lowell when he wrote of

"One long conflict through the ages twixt old systems and the Word."

America today is the most highly developed of capitalist nations, but yesterday the small individual producer was monarch of all he surveyed, and he does not yet realize what has happened. More important still, it was true not long ago that an American wage-

worker of ordinary energy and initiative was not obliged to remain a wage-worker, but could start out as an independent producer and grow into a capitalist. With this prospect in view, he thought of himself as a possible profit-maker, and had more interest in plans for raising himself into the capitalist class than in plans for improving the condition of wage-workers,—still less of abolishing wage-labor. New methods of production have now made it utterly impossible for any considerable number of wage-workers to rise out of their class, and this change has laid a solid foundation for an American Socialist movement. Slowly and steadily it has been rising on that foundation. Its growth is inevitable, and if Europe offers any trustworthy analogy, our movement will soon enroll the mass of the city wage-workers.

The Small Producer and the Socialist Party. The city wage-workers are as yet a minority of the voters in most of the states. The agricultural wage-workers are either floaters who move too often to have votes, or else are farmers' sons whose views are colored by the mental atmosphere of their fathers. Another element important numerically if not economically is made up of the small merchants who sell goods to wage-workers and farmers, and of the doctors, teachers, barbers and others rendering personal or professional services to the wage-workers and small producers. If capitalism must necessarily last until all these have by industrial development been transformed into wage-workers, then the owning class and their immediate descendants have little to fear. Can our propaganda be addressed successfully to others than wage-workers? The "opportunists" say yes, and are furthermore in favor of laying stress on certain incidental reform measures calculated to promote the apparent interests of the small producers, hoping thereby to attract them into the party whether they have any understanding of Socialism or not, and no matter whether they can be counted on to support a thorough-going Socialist program or not. The "impossibilists," on the other hand, say that it is only a waste of energy to attempt propaganda among others than wage-workers. As between the two, we believe that our propaganda always and everywhere should be so directed as to develop clear-headed Socialists. We believe that new voters won over by the advocacy of reform measures are a source of weakness rather than of strength. But we do not believe that propaganda addressed to others than wage-workers is necessarily wasted. Many convinced Socialists live where they can not come into personal touch with wage-workers, but only with small producers. These Socialists are going to try to make converts. They are not satisfied to sit still and wait for capitalism to change the small producers into proletarians. They want to do what they can to bring the revolution while they are alive to see it. The question for them is whether to teach Socialism or to advocate reforms in

the name of Socialism. If the material interests of the small producer were not closely allied to the material interests of the wage-worker, the latter course would be a natural one for these Socialists to take. This question thus becomes a vital one.

Wages, Prices and Profits. We have been accustomed to say that the wage-worker gets less than half what he produces, that more than half goes to the employing class. And this is true when we consider the whole body of laborers in their relation to the whole body of capitalists. But it is not necessarily true of one particular laborer in his relation to his own employer, especially if that employer's capital is slender. Again, certain passages in Marx have led Socialists to assume that commodities are generally sold at their values,—at prices corresponding to the amount of human labor embodied in each commodity. But Marx does not say this; he says that human labor is the only source of value, and that the whole mass of commodities taken together are sold at their value, but he also says that it is only accidentally that any particular commodity is sold at its value. That happens (apart from temporary fluctuations) only when such commodity is produced by a capital in which the "constant" and "variable" elements happen to be just equal to the average. The tendency under capitalism is for equal capitals to draw equal profits. This equality is brought about through supply and demand, by raising above their value the prices of commodities produced with relatively little human labor and relatively expensive means of production, and by depressing below their value the prices of goods produced with much human labor and little capital. Thus the cobbler with his simple tools, or the "one horse" farmer, gets for his product under capitalist competition only a trifle more than the value of his labor power. Therefore his real interests, however he may conceive them, are the same as the interests of the wage-worker. He can get some immediate relief by raising the general wage-scale, since the prices he will get for his products or services will go up almost in proportion. He can get the full value of his product only by abolishing capitalism, only by joining with the wage-workers to bring about the revolution. Therefore our logical course is to make the same appeal to all producers to join us in the movement for the overthrow of capitalism. Let us welcome them all, but turn aside for none.



England.—Are the English Socialist leaders betraying the cause of internationalism? That is the question which is exciting capitalist as well as Socialist writers. It is all *à propos* of the German war-scare. The National Executive of the Labor party recently published a resolution on the subject, and that is what started the trouble. This resolution deplors "the reckless and mischievous attempts now being made by small interested sections, both in Great Britain and Germany, to persuade the people of the two countries that a war is inevitable, and condemns the provocative policies of naval construction pursued by both these countries." German comrades are assured that English workers have no sympathy with militarist propaganda. In fact, it is roundly asserted that if war is brought about it will be through the action of a few individuals who have bought the newspapers to distort news to suit their flamboyant political passions and their economic interests. The resolution closes with an appeal to German workingmen to coöperate for the purpose of defeating the war propaganda. This resolution represents the traditional Socialist policy, and is subscribed to by Keir Hardie, Henderson, Snowden, Macdonald and others of the best known and most responsible leaders of the Laborites.

The Laborite resolution has been vigorously assailed by Robert Blatchford, H. M. Hyndman, and H. Quelch. Comrade Blatchford's principal attack is to be found in *The Clarion* for Aug. 7th. His chief contention is that the resolution in question misstates the facts of the case. According to the Laborites German and English capitalists are working together, to plunge the two nations into war. Mr. Blatchford asserts, on the contrary, that there is no English war party, that in the event of war English capital would have everything to lose and nothing to gain. German capital, however, needs an outlet and the scattered British empire invites attack. Now, says Mr. Blatchford, the question as to war or no war is not in the hands of the German people, but in those of the Emperor; and once hostilities were begun the Socialists would be powerless. This being taken for granted, the Laborite proposal seems hopeless. The matter is really urgent, we are told. The Germans are enlarging their navy and drilling their troops with a view to rapid embarkation. War may begin at any time, and in the face of it anti-militarist and internationalist would stand helpless. The English could not resist the German attack: he Germans are an army, the English are not. And a German victory would be a disaster to English labor as well as to English capital. It would be a blow to European civilization. To

prevent this disaster some really practical measures must be undertaken.

Mr. Blatchford has reiterated his arguments in succeeding issues of *The Clarion* and has been supported by Comrades Hyndman and Quelch in *Justice*. The latter puts the problem thus: "Agreed as we all are as to the means of maintaining peace generally, there is none among us but must regard war between England and Germany as a crime and disaster of the greatest magnitude. There is no 'split' or difference of opinion about that. The only difference of opinion, the only ground of controversy, is as to the best means by which such a crime and disaster can be avoided." In the very last number of *Justice* to come to hand (Sept. 5th), Mr. Hyndman returns to the attack, laying special stress on the fact that he is not suspicious of the German people, but the Emperor must be guarded against.

The other side of the question is represented by J. Hunter Watts and J. B. Askew. Mr. Watts, writing in *Justice*, mentions the fact that the Socialists have been instrumental in preventing a war between Norway and Sweden and between Austria and Italy, and then asks. "Is the arm of Socialism shortened that war is 'inevitable' between Germany and Britain?" Mr. Askew calls in question the information available on the matter, and more than implies that Mr. Blatchford and the others have sounded a false alarm.

English criticisms of the position taken by the Socialist leaders is naturally echoed in Germany. Herr Bebel writes to the *English Labor Leader* to protest against it. But he advises the Labor party not to send a delegation to Germany, as has been proposed. This action would, in his opinion, give German politicians the notion that the English are afraid of war.

The nature of the "practical" measure that Mr. Blatchford and his party have in mind is indicated by Robert Edmondson, in *Justice*, Aug. 29th. What they propose is to organize a citizen army. The present military force is weak in every respect. Neither the influence of the workmen nor Sir Edward Grey's foreign machinations can be depended upon to prevent war. What England needs is sufficient military power to stand alone. The citizen army proposed is to be made up of all male subjects capable of service between the ages of 18 and 45. To their 29th year they are to be liable to short periods of service for the sake of training. This army is to be democratically organized and in no case is it to be called out except to repel threatened invasion. The provisions of this plan are soon to be embodied in a bill and presented to Parliament by Will Thorne.

A moment's thought about the matter will show that the English Socialist leaders are not to be highly charged with infidelity to the cause of internationalism. It is true that their arguments smack a good deal of professional politics. But the worst that can be said of them is that they are trying to make a brilliant stroke. They are evidently working together and with a definite purpose. And their purpose at least is a good one. The country is supposed to be in danger; they will use the opportunity to overthrow the class military system and substitute for it a proletarian army, an army which, when the time comes, will ensure control to the working class. Whether the tactics adopted are the right ones, only time will tell. I am very sceptical of them. But at any rate Laborites and the two factions among the Socialists have the same purpose; they differ only as to the means of its accomplishment.

Australia.—In the September *Review* I gave some account of the position taken by the Socialist Federation of Australasia in relation to the Industrial Workers of the World. At the convention of the Federation, it will be remembered, a resolution was passed in favor of having the work of the I. W. W. Clubs performed "by Socialist organizations." This resolution has called forth a heated discussion. The trouble has all arisen from the attempt to transplant an organization bodily from the land where it grew up to another where its environment must be quite different. Of course Australian workmen find it difficult to understand an organization which gets on without "endorsing or desiring the endorsement of any political party."

Nevertheless the discussions in Australian papers make me feel more certain than ever that our Australian comrades are getting at the difficulty in the wrong way. In fact, a long letter from H. E. Holland in the *International Socialist Review*, Sydney, confirms my worst fears. Most of the arguments in it are borrowed from secret or open enemies of the I. W. W. If Mr. Holland wishes to know what their policy will lead to let him study the history of the old Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance. Labor simply will not be organized by politicians; its chief struggle is in the industrial field, and political parties rise and develop in response to needs discovered there. When Mr. Holland says, "The Socialist movement is an economic movement acting in two domains, the industrial and the parliamentary," he rouses a suspicion that he does not appreciate the nature of the industrial struggle. The Socialist party is the political expression of those who have already become industrially class-conscious. But the I. W. W. is a class-conscious organization. Let its work go on unhindered and it will make Socialists faster than any political propaganda.

The federal conference of the Australian Labor party met at Brisbane July 4-10. Its discussions were chiefly concerned with details of proposed legislation affecting working class interests. The usual motion to make Socialism the main objective of the party was voted down and the old objective reaffirmed. According to this old objective the Laborites are working for two things, a "white Australia" and "the securing of the full results of this industry to all producers by the collective ownership of *monopolies*, and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the state and municipality."

But the convention was not devoid of signs of promise. Mr. Andrew Fisher, the president, said in his address: "I say with pleasure that in my 20 years of public life I have seen this question (of Socialism), from being tabooed, sneered at and scouted, brought to a first place in public discussion." The significance of this statement is not clouded even by the unctuous, "We are all Socialists now," which follows it. *The Worker*, a Laborite weekly published at Brisbane, quotes Mr. Fisher's address to show that the time has come for a change of policy, and goes on, "Palliatives occupy too much time and energy now. They can carry us but little farther along the road we have to travel."

* * * *

Belgium.—Never were the beauties of bourgeois government better displayed than recently in Belgium. We have been told much in this country of the atrocities and the maladministration in the Congo Free State. But when it became known that the Belgian government was to take over the Congo colony from King Leopold we

felt much relieved—at least many of us did. Finally there was to be an enlightened, Christian government along the Congo.

And now behold what has happened. The act of acceptance has finally been passed by the Belgian parliament. Immense sums have been turned over to the King and his privileges are carefully protected, but of provision for the amelioration of life on the Congo there is hardly a trace. There is guaranteed to neither native nor European the right of free speech, free press or public assemblage. The accounts of the government are not to be open to inspection. The Socialist group in the lower house fought at every step for liberal provisions, but all it was able to secure was a clause forbidding forced labor for *private concerns*. So the old business will go on under a new firm name. In fact, the King himself is still to be in large measure the personal ruler of the colony. And all this was voted by a chamber of enlightened, Christian, bourgeois statesmen.

* * * *

Germany.—The *Parteitag* of the Social Democratic party, to be held soon at Nuremberg, promises to be one of the most exciting and important of recent years. For the past month the old subject of tactics has been up for discussion, and the debate upon it has grown voluminous and bitter. The matter immediately in dispute is the right of Socialist parliamentarians to vote for the acceptance of government budgets. Thus far party conventions have held this to be contrary to Socialist revolutionary doctrine. The Revisionists, however, have long been discontent with this ruling, and early in August the parliamentary fractions of the southern German states met at Stuttgart and informally decided to disregard it. Soon afterward Socialist members of the lower houses of Baden and Bavaria voted in favor of the acceptance of their respective budgets.

Needless to say this action has raised a storm. *Vorwaerts* and countless other papers thunder against it. The support for the new move comes chiefly from South Germany, and especially from the revisionists. The last number of *Sozialistische Monatshefte* may be described as a great broadside against the orthodox, north-German wing of the party. In some quarters there is even talk of withdrawal from the party. The whole matter will come up for settlement at Nuremberg.



WORLD OF LABOR



BY MAX S. HAYES

No local labor struggle of recent years has created such widespread interest as the strike of the Alabama miners against an 18 per cent reduction in their wages, and which, in a sense, was abandoned by the national officers during the past month. The deepest indignation is being manifested in labor circles everywhere, and, although the strike was declared off in a formal manner, the fight against the Alabama operators and the capitalists and politicians who co-operated with them has not ceased and warfare will be continued indefinitely.

The Alabama contest is further proof of the correctness of the Socialist contention that capitalists are thoroughly class-conscious and stand together in every crisis and will go to any extreme to hold labor in subjection. During a conversation with one of the chief officials of the miners several days ago he informed me that the strike was declared off because the unionists had learned that Governor Comer was not only prepared to call a special session of the Legislature and secure the enactment of laws outlawing striking, boycotting, picketing, etc., but that union miners were to be arrested and sent to the stone-piles and into the mines as convicts and forced to dig coal. Worse yet, the stony-hearted plutocrats in possession of the political and industrial machinery of Alabama were actually plotting to inaugurate a race war and drench the soil of the state with the blood of blacks and whites if necessary to maintain their supremacy. This would have given the modern slave masters an opportunity to hunt down union miners with their militia and strike-breaking thugs like wild animals, and it is not difficult to imagine the awful oppression that would have been the fate of those poor, oppressed workers.

It is not generally known but nevertheless a fact that the plantation owners of Alabama were largely responsible for the wage reduction promulgated by the mine operators. For some time the plantation masters have been complaining that "their lazy niggers" were deserting the cotton fields for the mines because they were not required to work as long hours and received somewhat better wages. Hence they began to howl about "negro domination" and "union domination" and "interference with our business," etc., and demanded that the mine operators come down to their wage level. When the politicians threw themselves to the side of the plantation owners and assured the operators that they would be backed up in a contest to reduce wages, the latter, smelling higher profits on their coal, did not require a great amount of urging and forced the fighting. Review readers are familiar with the news dispatches that were sent out of Alabama describing many incidents of the struggle, how the mining district was overrun with militia and deputies, how the miners were

driven out of the miserable company hovels and their tents razed when they camped on ground leased by the union, and how free speech and public assemblage was prohibited.

But one important incident occurred that has been enshrouded in considerable mystery and that is only beginning to be cleared up, but which is not being exploited in the capitalistic press for obvious reasons. I refer to the shooting up of the train near Blockton, which outrage was promptly laid at the doors of the miners, accompanied by the usual editorial denunciations from the reptile press. But now it leaks out that the original route of the train was suddenly changed without notice and sent through a district where there were but few miners, and in the center of the train there was an empty coach, with doors locked. Why was the route of the train changed at the last moment, and how could the miners have discovered that fact and marshaled their forces for assault, and why was the empty car carried? Governor Comer, when asked these questions, hinted rather vaguely that a telegraph operator had revealed the whereabouts of the train to the miners and refused to explain the reason for carrying the empty car.

The telegrapher is to be victimized in Colorado fashion by the capitalists and their politicians, but when the trial takes place there may be some sensational developments. The miners' officials believe—and they employed detectives to search out the facts and have had considerable success—that the train was to be shot up by thugs in the employ of the plutocrats, that the route traversed by the train was the one originally selected and false information about another route was given out to cover up the movements of the highwaymen, and that the latter misunderstood instructions and shot into a loaded car instead of the empty one. These and other facts will probably be brought out in court.

Meanwhile the miners' officials have no intention of abandoning the Alabama field in reality. They are going to drain that field of the best miners and place them at work in other districts whenever possible, and by inaugurating a system of guerilla warfare they hope to cripple the Alabama mines and keep them crippled.

The labor papers are commenting on the significant silence of the American Federationist regarding the Alabama strike. In fact very few of the Democratic "labor" papers have discussed that struggle in their editorial columns, contenting themselves with merely printing short news notes or ignoring the contest entirely. Possibly this peculiar policy was due to the further fact that Governor Comer was touted as a "workingman's friend" during his campaign for election, who was to be duly "rewarded" while his opponent was, of course, "stingingly rebuked." Nevertheless some of the labor papers that have not been hypnotized by the Democratic party are calling upon Bro. Gompers to take his bunch of organizers and invade the "friends'" country and convert them from their evil ways of union-smashing. It is pointed out that after he cleanses the Augean stables of Alabama he might drift over into Georgia, where the Supreme Court of that state has just declared picketing unlawful and practically smashed the machinists' strike at Atlanta and outlawed organized labor. After Mr. Gompers informs the Supreme Court of the Cracker State how much he respects it he might jaunt into Mississippi and commune with the authorities at Vicksburg, who promised to reward the striking longshoremen and sailors at that port with promotions to the stone-pile if they did not cease pestering Bro. Capital and return to

work, thus squelching their movement. Over in North and South Carolina, which states, like Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi, will cast their electoral votes for "our friends," the child labor chain gangs are kept working overtime in the patriotic task of beating down the wages of New England competitors, and voluntary organizers and wicked Socialists who commit the horrible crime of attempting to form unions for the protection of the workers are driven from place to place and sent to the stone-piles, the modern "peculiar" Southern institution. Surely Mr. Gompers would be welcomed with open arms by his "friends" who are in control of the industrial shambles of the South.

In the good, old, rock-ribbed Republican state of Pennsylvania another great industrial struggle is brewing, and, as in the South and West, the miners are to be the victims of the capitalistic tyranny. It is rather significant that Republican capitalists and politicians are making common cause with Democratic capitalists and politicians against the miners. The courts and militia, deputies and strike-breakers of Colorado and Alabama and Pennsylvania are working together harmoniously to batter the unions out of existence, and yet we have before us the disgusting spectacle of alleged labor leaders endeavoring to split hairs on the question as to which party of slave-drivers is "our friend" and which "our enemy." No wonder that the organized working people of Europe and Australia have contempt for the boasted superior intelligence of American "labor leaders."

On the first of April, next year, the present scale expires in the anthracite region. The miners, thanks to the open shop agreement forced upon them by President Roosevelt and Judge Gray, erstwhile candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, permitted their local organizations to droop and die in many places. The operators and their minions have encouraged disorganization as much as possible, and no opportunity is neglected to sow the seeds of distrust, incite racial and religious prejudices, discriminate against active union workers, and resort to other disreputable methods to weaken the spirit of unionism. The operators desire a lower wage scale and in order to enforce a reduction they intend, if possible, to smash the union.

On the other hand the miners are being reorganized and are rallying to the standard with the cry of eight hours per day, more wages and recognition of the union. President Lewis and other officers of the United Mine Workers have been holding meetings throughout the district and urging the men to combine unless they are prepared to accept burdensome conditions. The unionists do not disguise the fact that they expect to fight and they intend to make ready to meet the issue when it is precipitated.

Meanwhile the corporations are rushing production and piling up surplus stocks. They expect to have ten million tons of coal stored by spring and the price of this will be greatly enhanced if a strike comes. Many of the manufactories in Eastern cities are also placing large orders for immediate delivery, having received hints from the inside that there is likely to be a national suspension in the anthracite fields.

The operators regard next spring as the opportune time to deal the union a blow from which it may require years to recover. The Presidential election will be over and there will be no meddling on the part of "workingman's friend" politicians, and, having the state government and the "Cossacks" behind them, they are sanguine of

the outcome. A side issue that is giving Mr. Baer and his fellow plutocrats much satisfaction was the recent United States Court decision that the Hepburn law, which sought to prevent railway corporations from owning mines, was unconstitutional. It is significant that Judge Gray, the immaculate Democratic jurist, who, as before mentioned, forced the open shop upon the miners and wanted to be the nominee for President and could have secured second place by a nod, rendered the decision in this case which killed the law that was designed to break up the anthracite monopoly. The railroads claimed "confiscation" and insisted that the Hepburn act deprived them of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, or words to that effect, and won their point, as usual. So instead of being weakened by the enforcement of the law the anthracite barons are stronger than ever, and soon the country probably will be treated to the extraordinary spectacle of an industry closed down and production at a standstill, and yet the corporation stocks mounting skyward and, with the prices of the stored commodities, enormously enriching the coal barons and impoverishing and starving the working class.

Of course capitalism is a splendid system—for the capitalists. And one cannot help but feel, with such illustrations constantly before us, that the fool-killer is neglecting his duty in an unpardonable manner.

Another national strike has been lost. Mention was made in the REVIEW recently that the papermakers had gone on strike at a number of points in New England, New York and the West to resist a reduction in wages. After pitting their stomachs against the millions of the trust for several months the men were compelled to surrender and return to work at the terms dictated by the combine. The trust could not very well lose. It controls the principal mills of the country and had thousands of tons of paper stored to meet just such an emergency as a strike. Indeed, while the paper mill employees were out starving for principle, the trust magnates sat back and took things easy. They dictated a reduction of wages on the one hand and advanced the price of paper on the other hand, and all between the low cost of production and the high cost of consumption is velvet for those gents. It's heads they win and tails the suckers lose.

One would think that the "labor leaders" would begin to appreciate the helplessness of the workers when opposed in contests with trustified capital. But no such luck. These great leaders are merely throwing dust in the eyes of their followers by fiddling away on the trifling question of injunctions—the right to strike freely in certain cases where such strikes are hampered, to bump their heads against the stone wall of monopolized capital, where the magnates can pack their trunks and take a vacation in Europe, and before boarding ship can say, "Strike and starve to your heart's content and when you get tired of it return to work at our terms."

It's almost a crime nowadays to call a strike and the pity is that these self-same "great leaders," who strut and boast of their power, are not thrown upon the street along with the rest and have their salaries choked off. Perhaps then they would admit that the Socialists' analysis of capitalism is correct and would favor making some real political progress. There hasn't been a great national strike won during the past decade with the possible single exception of the printers' eight-hour contest, which cost the Typographical Union about \$4,500,000. All the others were lost or at best compromised.

And yet Gompers, the loudest boaster and greatest of all great

leaders—the little Napoleon, mind you—writes Debs down as “the Apostle of Failure!” Where in blazes has Gompers ever won a strike! It has come to be regarded as tantamount to preparing for a funeral when Gompers is called in for assistance. Go down the line for only a year or two and view the failures. Besides the paper-makers, the packing house employes, the teamsters, the shipbuilders on the lakes, the lithographers, the telegraphers and others have been worsted, not because the injunction was the most powerful weapon in the hands of the plutocrats, but because labor lacked funds to feed the hungry and political power to enforce its sense of justice.

Apostle of failure, indeed! The great leader in Washington ought to inform us where and when victories were won that can be credited to his superior wisdom and extraordinary ability.

LITERATURE ART



BY JOHN SPARGO

Professor Edward Alsworth Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, is very modest and almost apologetic in offering us his stimulating and helpful volume, *Social Psychology*, published by the Macmillan Company. "In spite of infinite pains and thirteen years of experience in university teaching of the subject, I feel sure this book is strewn with errors. The ground is new, and among the hundreds of interpretations, inferences, and generalizations I have ventured on, no doubt scores will turn out to be wrong. Of course I would strike them out if I knew which they are. I would hold back the book could I hope by longer scrutiny to detect them. But I have brought social psychology as far as I can unaided, and nothing is to be gained by delay. The time has come to hand over the results of my reflection to my fellow-workers, in the hope of provoking discussions which will part the wheat from the chaff and set it to producing an hundred fold." With such an introduction one opens the book assured at least of candor and freedom from bigotry.

Professor Ross has a very useful and tangible definition of social psychology. He points to the great planes of uniformity into which human beings are gathered. Judging from their heredity we should expect people to be far more dissimilar and individual than they actually are. As a consequence of association, the individuality with which Nature endows us is largely modified. It is with these uniformities which are produced by mental contact and interaction that social psychology deals. It does not deal with uniformities arising out of physical environments, racial traits or historical conditions, but only with those planes and currents of uniformity which can be traced to psychic factors.

It is, therefore, a study of the relation of society to the individual and *vice versa*. We can distinguish very sharply between social psychology and sociology if we bear in mind that the province of sociology is to study social conditions and structures, social groupings, while the province of social psychology is to study the planes and currents of feeling, belief and purpose which have motivated the groupings. In a word, Professor Ross writes of mental contagion expressing itself in a thousand ways—in lynchings, religious frenzy, "booms," fads, panics, and so on. The influence of Gabriel Tarde is strongly marked throughout, and, let me add, gratefully acknowledged by the charmingly candid author.

. . .

Dr. George M. Kober, Chairman of the Committee on Social Betterment of the President's Homes Commission, of Washington, D. C., has written and published for that organization a very interest-

ing and valuable monograph entitled *Industrial and Personal Hygiene*, in which the Socialist student will find many important and interesting facts set forth. The committee, of which Dr. Kober is chairman, seems to have been charged with the task of elaborating plans for the improvement of the standards of living among the "least resourceful" part of the population. At a very early stage of its investigations, the committee found that it had to face the fact that the question of health is intimately connected with the physical and moral welfare, and that the prosperity of countless numbers of the workers, whose only income is the product of their daily labor, is destroyed by sickness and accidents. The illness and disability of the wage-earner is now universally regarded as a fundamental cause of poverty and distress and no solution of the poverty problem will be found which does not aim at the preservation of health and the prevention of disease and accident.

This aspect of the problem is receiving tardy recognition in this country. Germany, France and England have done very much more to conserve the health and strength of the workers than the United States has yet attempted. Dr. Kober's volume of 170 pages is chiefly remarkable as the beginning of an important literature. The material with which the author deals is largely familiar to most students and concerns the relation of mortality to occupation; occupational diseases, physical effects of the employment of women and children, infant mortality and low wages. The practical measures of reform sketched are in the main such as have already been tested elsewhere and found to be successful in practice. The report is one of the most intelligent and useful publications of its kind which I have seen in a long time. It is published by the President's Homes Commission, Washington, D. C.

* * * *

In a little group of Socialists and other radical thinkers recently the work of Professor Charles Zueblin was being discussed when one of the number defined the position of the subject of the discussion as that of "A near-Socialist living under a benevolent feudalism." Of the correctness of the first part of this definition—of Professor Zueblin's nearness to Socialism—no one will doubt after reading his little volume, *The Religion of a Democrat*, which B. W. Huebsch, of New York, has published with rare taste and artistic feeling. His nearness to Socialism is at once encouraging and disappointing. One feels that, despite his title, he has not yet a religion of his own; that the very hesitancy and uncertainty of his attitude toward Socialism indicate an absence of that deep-rooted and vital conviction without which religion cannot live. It is a religion without soul, without passion or fire, which he holds up to our gaze; discreet, cautious, refined, admirably adapted to the drawing room or the fashionable lecture platform, but without the courage and passion which all religions have depended upon. One thinks of Taine's description of Tennyson's carefully decorous mourning, of the care with which he uses his fine cambric handkerchief: Professor Zueblin's religion is very decorous, studiously proper in all things.

His definition of religion is one that is becoming common now that the old theological concepts of religion are being so largely abandoned. It is primal and cosmic. "Religion is the expression of man's relation to the universal, ultimate, and infinite," he says. The definition is at once definite and vague, according to one's own attitude. Attempt to build a creed upon it, a creed of positive tenets, and you will surely fail, but then no creed has ever given a true

expression of the religion it pretended to express. Religion is thus a personal thing. Its essence is personality. It is *my* relation to the universal, ultimate, and infinite, and *your* relation. This does not mean that religion is individualistic. It is social: it ties, it binds together. Personality is not lost in social life but found there. "The richest of human experience come through sharing the common life." Each individual may have a religion of his own, stamped indelibly with his personality, but still a social religion seeking the good of all as the sure road to individual good.

The constraint of orthodoxy handicaps thought, makes moral cowards, and emphasizes non-essentials. This is true of all kinds of orthodoxy, religious, political, economic, social. One may be heterodox in religion and despise the orthodox while being orthodox in political or economic beliefs and despising those who are heterodox. Christians were offended by Ingersoll's denunciations of "the mistakes of Moses," and he would have been just as much offended as they if some one else had written a book on the mistakes of McKinley. Professor Zueblin gives free rein to his fancy and declares that "economic orthodoxy is represented by the familiar term 'class consciousness.'" The reader rubs his eyes and goes back over the page to see that he has not made a mistake. "Class-consciousness" may be a familiar term to Professor Zueblin, as a near-Socialist, but surely it is not so to the great mass of people! It is new and unfamiliar to most of them. Only recently have we found it used outside of Socialist circles in presidential messages. And surely it has never yet represented orthodoxy to any except Socialists.

Socialism, on account of the tremendous moral zeal of its advocates, its philosophy of life, and its ideal, is a religious movement, "both a prophetic and an evangelizing force." Many of us will agree with our author that the tendency to orthodoxy and the authority of the letter of Marx may become a very serious limitation upon the movement. The conservatism of Socialists is well-known; it is hard for many of our comrades to recognize that Marx did not close the books of wisdom and that they are most truly Marxist when they face new facts and change their position accordingly. On this critical side there is much that is valuable and stimulating in Professor Zueblin's little volume. That is its chief claim to our attention.

* * * *

Professor Charles Sprague Smith, of the People's Institute, New York City, has issued, through the A. Wessels Company, a slim volume of verse with the simple title, *Poems*. His claim to attention is very modestly and unostentatiously set forth:

"My muse, thou art a simple thing,
Thy home is in the silent wood,
Where brooklets laugh or sparrow's wing
Alone disturbs the solitude."

Most of the poems are such as this modest verse suggests, contemplations of nature's wonders and beauties. At the end of the volume, however, are a number of songs of freedom, written to be sung by the vast audiences at Cooper Union on Sunday evenings, of which a "Marching Song," sung to the tune of the Marseillaise, is perhaps the most successful.

NEWS & VIEWS

What Will the Socialist Vote Be? Economic conditions reflect themselves in people's actions, and this principle applies to voting as to other acts. But it takes time for people to adjust themselves to changed conditions. Capitalism is breaking down, but millions will still act as if things were as in 1906, while millions more will act as if they were living under the economic conditions of 1856. Only those who see clearly or are directly influenced by those who see clearly can be reasonably expected to vote the Socialist ticket this year. The editor of the REVIEW has asked each State Secretary of the Socialist party for an estimate of the probable vote. The responses are printed herewith and are followed by a table showing our estimate for 1908, taking all obtainable data into account. In general it should be remembered that the Debs vote of 1904 included many Bryan men who would not support Parker yet did not endorse the Socialist platform. This year, with Bryan and Hisgen in the field, ours will be a class-conscious vote. Here are the reports:

Alabama. Locals in 1904, 10; now, 20. Members in 1904, 150; now, 400. Paid organizers in 1904, none; now, 1. Local elections have shown increase. Vote of 1904 was counted as 839, of which 375 were in Birmingham; now the sentiment is strong all over the state. Estimated vote, 4,000. Thomas M. Freeman, Secretary.

Arizona. Locals in 1904, 15; now, 27. Paid organizers in 1904, 1; now, 1 for a complete tour and 5 for partial tours of the territory. Vote in 1904, 1,304; in 1906, 2,078; estimated vote for 1908, at least double that of 1904. Geneva M. Fryer, Secretary.

Arkansas. Locals in 1904, 30; now, 195. Membership in 1904, 250; now, 1,100. Paid organizers in 1904, 2; now, 4 to 6 most of the time. Vote in 1904, 1,816; unofficial returns on state election already held this year indicate vote of 10,000. Debs only received 26 votes in Arkansas in 1900. W. R. Snow, Secretary.

California. Debs and Hanford received 29,535 votes in California in 1904. A large number of these were not Socialist votes, but were cast by dissatisfied Democrats as a protest against Parker.

In 1906 the vote for Austin Lewis, Socialist candidate for Governor, dropped to 16,036. The favorable conditions of 1904 had been reversed. Bell, the Democratic candidate for Governor, was a popular man, and received the endorsement of the Union Labor party, thus becoming the regular candidate of both parties. The Independence League nominated Langdon, reformer, and, supported by the two Hearst papers in this state, that party polled 45,000 votes.

This drew away the unreliaables from the Socialist party and reduced its vote to rock bottom.

In 1904 the dues paying membership was about 1,300. During June, 1908, the dues paying members numbered 2,710; in July, 3,201, and in August, 3,852.

The number of paid organizers and speakers now in the field is about double the number employed in 1904.

The circulation of Socialist papers has been doubled during the last two years, and a great increase in Socialist sentiment and activity is reported from all parts of the state.

It is impossible to make any close estimate of the increase in our vote this year, as many thousands of working men, a large percentage of them Socialists, are disfranchised by the registration laws; but if a reasonable portion of the increased sentiment is expressed in votes we should poll from 60,000 to 70,000 for Debs. H. C. Tuck, Secretary.

Colorado. Although this state will show an increase in the vote over 1904, which was 4,304, I expect a large decrease from the vote of 1906, which was 17,000. In explanation, in 1906 our nominee for Governor was William D. Haywood, Secretary-Treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, and at that time confined in jail in Idaho, charged with the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg of that state. A great effort was made by the Socialists and organized labor to poll a large vote for Haywood, as a protest, and a campaign fund of \$5,000 was handled, with three national organizers in the field during the campaign. This year we have nominated H. C. Darrah, an old soldier, for Governor, a man who is not identified with any labor organization, and who is not known outside the Socialist party. Our campaign fund will be *very* small and the vote that we poll in 1908 can be depended on to be a strictly class-conscious Socialist vote. We have only one organizer in the field. Our state organization is the strongest it has ever been. Lewis E. Floaten, Secretary.

Connecticut. No report; vote in 1904, 4,543; our estimate, 6,000.

Delaware. No report; vote in 1904, 146; our estimate, 300.

Florida. No report; vote in 1904, 2,337; our estimate, 4,000.

Georgia. No report; vote in 1904, 197; our estimate, 1,000.

Idaho. The situation in Idaho is very promising and satisfactory to the Socialists at this time. Certainly not all we want but all we could reasonably expect, taking all things into consideration. In 1904 Debs' vote was 5,000 nearly, while the state ticket fell far below. In 1906 the state ticket came up to the Debs' vote. This election we expect the state ticket to more nearly be same as Debs' vote and expect it to be near three times the 1904 vote. There will be some counties that will not have a local ticket this year, while there will be several precincts in the state that will give Debs' electors more votes than all the "Bills" together. Our dues paying membership have nearly doubled since last January, and now number near 800. Our state organization is not yet what it should be, but by next election we hope to close up the ranks, touch elbows, and cause the enemy to take notice. Fraternally, Thos. J. Coonrod, Secretary.

Illinois. The 1904 vote was 69,225, a figure far ahead of any previous vote, and not maintained at the congressional election of 1906. Of this vote, about 48,000 were cast in Cook county (Chicago), and 21,000 in the rest of the state. Reports from outside the city are encouraging, and this portion of the vote should rise to 35,000. The party organization in the city has been badly handicapped by dissen-

sions and by the fact that much energy has been diverted into efforts to conform to the changing primary laws of Illinois. It will therefore be exceedingly gratifying if the 1904 vote in the city is maintained. A conservative estimate for the total vote of Illinois this year is 75,000.

Indiana. Locals in 1904, altogether, 70; now, 98; all of which are active. No record of 1904 membership; present membership, 1,300. Paid organizers in 1904, 3; now, 6. Vote in 1904, 12,013. Estimated vote, 30,000. May M. Strickland, Secretary.

Iowa. Locals in 1904, 30; now, 45. Members in 1904, 500; now, 900. We have never had regularly employed state organizers but have depended on national organizers, of which different ones were employed about all the time in 1904 and the same may be said this year. The vote for Governor in 1906 showed a falling off of 40 per cent. Compared with the vote of 1904 (14,847) we will probably hold our own or make a substantial increase this year. W. C. Hills, Secretary.

Kansas. No report. Vote in 1904, 15,494. Our estimate, 20,000.

Kentucky. No report. Vote in 1904, 3,602. Our estimate, 6,000.

Louisiana. Vote in 1904, 995. State election in April, 1908, showed 25 per cent increase. There are more Socialist candidates this year than ever before. Besides electors and congressmen, most of the nominations are for minor offices, such as school board members. In the city of New Orleans, a municipal ticket but no members for city council, which is on account of a vicious election law. Information from three or four parishes says comrades of the several wards are confident of electing school board members and casting a good vote for the rest of the ticket. G. F. Weller, Secretary.

Maine. Vote in 1904, 2,106. A. F. Cushman, Secretary, sends no detailed report, but estimates vote at 2,500.

Maryland. No report. Vote in 1904, 2,247. Our estimate, 3,000.

Massachusetts. I have no statistics covering membership for 1904 or 1905. Membership (paid up) in 1906, 1,201; in 1907, 1,244; in 1908, 1,605; 27 per cent increase in membership in 1908 over 1907. Clubs in 1907, 66; in 1908, 88,—33 per cent gain. Vote for Debs, 1904, 13,604; for governor, 1906, 7,938; for governor, 1907, 7,621; in both cases a largely decreased total vote. Expect this year from 12,000 to 15,000 for Debs. J. F. Carey, Secretary.

Michigan. No written report. Vote in 1904 was 8,941. Comrade A. M. Stirton visited this office on Sept. 25, and confirms our previous opinion that 12,000 is a conservative estimate for this year's vote.

Minnesota. No report. Vote in 1904, 11,692. Our estimate, 20,000.

Mississippi. No report. Vote in 1904, 393. Our estimate, 1,000.

Missouri. Otto Pauls, Secretary, reports that the party in 1904 had 40 to 50 locals; now, 150. Membership in 1904, 800; now, 2,000. In 1904, 1 paid organizer; now, 4. The vote in 1904 was 13,000. Comrade Pauls declines to name a figure for this year's probable vote; our estimate is 25,000.

Montana. No report. Vote in 1904, 5,676. Our estimate, 10,000.

Nebraska. No report. Vote in 1904, 7,412. Our estimate, 10,000.

Nevada. No report. Vote in 1904, 925. Our estimate, 2,000.

New Hampshire. Locals in 1904, 18; Now, 25. Membership in 1904, 175; now, 300. No paid organizers in 1904; one now. Vote in 1904, 1,090; in 1906, 1,146. My estimate for this year, 1,500; most all others place it higher. W. H. Wilkins, Secretary.

New Jersey. No report. Vote in 1904, 9,587. Our estimate, 12,000.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

New Mexico. No report. Vote in 1904, 162. Our estimate, 1,000.

New York. No official report. Vote in 1904, 36,883. Since then there has been a considerable gain in membership. Moreover the Socialist Labor party, which then polled a considerable vote, is greatly weakened. On the other hand the Hearst newspapers will probably divert to Hisgen many floating votes that might otherwise go to Debs. Moreover the growth of the party in New York has always been slow. The unknown quantity is the results that may come from the circulation of the Call, which may be important. A conservative estimate of this year's vote is 50,000.

North Carolina. No report. Vote in 1904, 124. Our estimate, 500.

North Dakota. No report. Vote in 1904, 2,017. Our estimate, 3,000.

Ohio. Locals in 1904, about 50; now, 106. Two paid organizers now in field. Estimated vote, 100,000. John Willert, Secretary.

Oklahoma. No report. Vote in 1904, 4,443. Our estimate, 15,000.

Oregon. In reference to your communication will say that I am not a prophet and refuse to speculate. The State of Oregon is a seething mass of Socialism. What part of it is conscious and what part unconscious, what part will be able to carry their ideas to the political field I do not know. I expect an increased vote, how much I can not say. The vote of four years ago was not a Socialist vote, the vote of this year will be nothing else. The vote of four years ago was a sentimental vote to a large extent. The sentimentalists are quitting us; the revolutionary element that four years ago were scoffing at us are joining us now. The lines are being drawn sharply, hatred is being expressed and a class conflict is clearly in evidence. We have enthusiastic members and bitter enemies and the man on the fence is getting hell from both sides. Four years ago we had 32 locals, today 74; we had no organizers out then; we have the same number yet. Socialists organize themselves like clouds form under the hot sun. Local elections have shown an increase all over the state and the straight vote, which is all we pay attention to in Oregon, has more than doubled, in Portland trebled. What the vote will be election day I do not know, but I do know that if all of the 3,000 men that marched in the Debs procession on Monday, the 14th of September, had a vote, that when the votes were counted in Portland some of the capitalists in this city would climb some of these tall Oregon pines and stay there until the co-operative commonwealth was ushered in. Yours for the Revolution, Thomas A. Sladden, Secretary.

Pennsylvania. Unless all signs fail we will see a big increase in the Socialist vote in Pennsylvania. The speakers report larger meetings, more interest, larger literature sales and better collections from the crowds than ever before. State Organizer Kennedy recently toured the western end of the state, and reports the field ripe for the harvest. Applications for charters more numerous than ever. Member of the party more alive and enthusiastic in the work. If the votes are counted we should see the vote quadrupled in this state. Expect to have watchers at the polls wherever we have organizations, so as to get as full count as possible. Suggest that all other states adopt the same plan, so as to keep fraud as low as we can. Yours in the Cause, Robert B. Ringler, Secretary. (Vote of Pennsylvania in 1904 was 21,863. A conservative estimate for this year would be 40,000.)

Rhode Island. Locals in 1904, 5; now, 10. Members in 1904,

100; now, 200. No local speakers in 1904; now, 6, one under pay. Our vote in 1904 was 743, in 1905 it dropped to 364, in 1907 it rose to 779. The panic has compelled wage earners to change residence, so the registration this year is much smaller than usual, but from general indications we feel that a vote of 1,200 to 1,500 is probable. Fred Hurst, Secretary.

South Carolina. No report. *Vote in 1904, 22.

South Dakota. No report. Vote in 1904, 3,138. Our estimate, 5,000.

Tennessee. Have no records for 1904; think the number of locals then was 12, with membership of 150. Now 25, with membership of over 400. No paid organizers; all new locals the spontaneous result of reading Socialist books and papers. In 1904 our ticket was on the official ballot in only 55 counties; this year our campaign committee is working hard to get our ticket on the ballot of every one of the 95 counties. Vote in 1904 was 1355. Local elections since have shown a marked increase. In my opinion the Socialist vote in Tennessee this year will be about 3,500. On with the Revolution. H. H. Tersliner, Secretary.

Texas. Locals in 1904, 30 or 40; membership, 400; vote, 2,791. Locals in 1906, about 60; membership, about 600; vote only slightly increased. We now have some 200 locals, with a membership of about 1,600. Our vote is out of proportion with our organized strength. One potent cause for this is the poll tax qualification. This disfranchises so many that the vote cast by any party is but a fraction of its strength. As for 1908, we do not like to count votes until they are cast. There is certain to be a marked increase. If the sanguine are to be believed we may reach 15,000. We believe we will cast 5,000, but will be satisfied if it is 4,000. W. J. Bell, Secretary.

Utah. No records for 1904. Locals that year numbered about 22, with membership of a little over 300; now 47 locals, enrolling about 1,300 members. Vote in 1904, 6,010. This year even our opponents grant the probability of our reaching 17,000. Jos. MacLachlan, Secretary.

Vermont. No report. Vote in 1904, 844. Our estimate, 1,000.

Virginia. No report. Vote in 1904, 218. Our estimate, 1,000.

Washington. Your letter requesting me to answer several questions reached me only yesterday. Most likely it will be too late now; nevertheless I will say Washington will be heard from at the coming election with at least 22,000 votes. Probably in no other state are so many workingmen disfranchised by reason of residence qualifications as here in Washington. If systematic party organization is also a factor to determine our political strength, then it is safe to say that if the vote at the next election is proportionately larger from previous elections, then our vote will be much more than 22,000, for we now have an organization of over a hundred locals with about 160 members-at-large; while, whatever the organization may have been four years ago, it was surely not an organization showing any considerable strength, and above all it lacked system. Now locals or members-at-large in bad standing are not tolerated and will not be kept on our roll. By a referendum vote recently our membership voted an increase of dues to 35 cents for local members and 50 cents for members-at-large to the State office, thus indicating and recognizing a principle that the burdens of any organization must be borne by all members, if at all possible by all members alike. R. Krueger, Secretary.

West Virginia. Locals in 1904, 21; now, 42. Membership in

1904, 150; now, 250. Vote in 1900, 286; in 1904, 1,574; in 1906, over 2,500; my estimate for 1908, 4,500. George B. Kline, Secretary.

Wisconsin. The Social-Democrats have good prospects of electing two congressmen from the Fourth and Fifth Districts. In the Fourth District, comprising the southern part of Milwaukee county, we lost in 1906 by only 3,472 votes. In our city election last spring, the Social-Democratic party gained enough votes in the Fourth District to wipe out this majority. In the Fifth Congressional District, the majority to be overcome is somewhat larger, but the conditions are better, as the old parties in this district are completely demoralized.

We also are confident that we shall double our number of state senators. We shall elect from seven to ten assemblymen, besides having a good fighting chance of carrying Milwaukee county for our entire county ticket. Outside of Milwaukee county, three assembly districts have a fighting chance for sending Social-Democrats to Madison. Wisconsin, on a conservative estimate, will probably give 60,000 votes for Debs and Hanford. E. H. Thomas, Secretary.

Wyoming. No report. Vote in 1904, 1,077. Our estimate, 2,000.

Summary of Estimated Vote. The following figures correspond for the most part with the reports from state secretaries in the preceding paragraphs. A few secretaries have refrained from giving definite figures, and a few have, in our opinion, been over-sanguine. The figures in the table represent our sober judgment of what we may fairly expect. But much may happen in a month, and a million votes are not impossible.

Alabama	4,000	Brought forward.....	336,800
Arizona	2,500	Nebraska	10,000
Arkansas	10,000	Nevada	2,000
California	60,000	New Hampshire	1,500
Colorado	7,500	New Jersey	12,000
Connecticut	5,000	New Mexico	1,000
Delaware	300	New York	50,000
Florida	4,000	North Carolina	500
Georgia	1,000	North Dakota	3,000
Idaho	8,000	Ohio	75,000
Illinois	75,000	Oklahoma	15,000
Indiana	25,000	Oregon	15,000
Iowa	20,000	Pennsylvania	40,000
Kansas	20,000	Rhode Island	1,000
Kentucky	6,000	South Carolina	200
Louisiana	2,000	South Dakota	5,000
Maine	2,500	Tennessee	3,500
Maryland	3,000	Texas	5,000
Massachusetts	13,000	Utah	12,000
Michigan	12,000	Vermont	1,000
Minnesota	20,000	Virginia	1,000
Mississippi	1,000	Washington	20,000
Missouri	25,000	West Virginia	4,000
Montana	10,000	Wisconsin	60,000
		Wyoming	2,000
Carried forward.....	336,800		
			676,500

Organization. I have recently read several articles in *The Review* upon organization and on best methods to keep up interest in the Locals. It has been my experience as local organizer in both Cali-

fornia and Nevada, that it is almost impossible to get the average workingman to take an active part in the movement. Studying this phenomenon I have reached the conclusion that our National Organization is somewhere at fault. To my mind it is too loosely connected and it lacks discipline. I believe it should be organized upon the following lines:

Absolute state autonomy should be done away with. The locals should make out monthly reports giving data upon members and topics of general interest to the movement. These to be forwarded to the State Office and after being reviewed on to the National Office. There reports should be again reviewed and important data concerning members and their work copied in a book used for such a purpose and the report filed. This would insure prompt action and attendance to duty of both local and state officials. Upon failure of either to report promptly the superior officer could notify the delinquent and thus stimulate action and prevent the entire state from becoming disorganized, as happened here in Nevada when the State Secretary failed to communicate with the National Office.

Most of our National Organizers are such in name only. They are generally good lecturers or orators, but organizing is another matter. Very few possess any ability in that line. Last fall this state had one of the National Organizers here for two months. I heard him give one or two very fine lectures but his remarks upon organization were ridiculous. Now I know many members who are able to go quietly about among the workers and organize them but who are unable to make fine speeches.

There should be a general organizer at the National Office to work in conjunction with the Secretary. He should have charge of a corps of organizers and lecturers. The Secretary should turn over to him a list of the WEAK points (gleaned from the monthly reports) and the general organizer should send the organizers and lecturers to those places instead of, as at present, to the locals already strong where the revenue is greatest.

The general organizer could thus assist the National Secretary. I suppose objections will roll in on the ground that this gives one or two men too much authority, or criticisms of the red tape or expense. But in reply I want to say you cannot have a large and a strong organization unless it is thoroughly organized and the expense will be amply met by the increase in the monthly dues.

E. E. LEMKE,
Silver Bow, Nev.

Hobson's Choice. In the REVIEW for September, S. G. Hobson has stated an old truth in a new way. ("Confessions of a New Fabian.") He has shown what Marx and others have shown, and that is, that as a rule men's "ethics" and their economic interests are one and the same thing. Mr. Hobson contends that "the whole stress and emphasis of the Socialist propaganda" depend upon our proper assimilation of this fact. He says:

"In whatever direction we turn, I believe we shall always make the same discovery; whatever is economically necessary is ethically desirable or vice versa."

This we accept without question, but reject as idealistic his conclusion that "ethics is the science of transforming our economic conceptions into a code of conduct," if we are to accept his definition of "our code of conduct" as being "our conception of our relationship

to mankind" or to "our neighbor"; because nothing, to the average man, is "ethically desirable," unless it is "economically necessary" to HIM, individually. We are not Socialists, nor do we adopt a code of conduct, because Socialism or that particular code of conduct is "economically necessary," and hence "ethically desirable," for our neighbors, but for OURSELVES. If Socialism wins, it will be by direct appeal to the self-interest of the individual, and not by an appeal to the individual to alter his "relationship to mankind," for the good of mankind. We join the socialist party, not because of the party's attitude toward our neighbors, but for what it promises to do for US, individually.

Let there be class-consciousness, solidarity, comradeship and all that; but let us not get so far away from fundamental principles as to imagine that they are "rooted" in any other "human impulse" than the one that has thus far dominated human conduct, namely, SELF-INTEREST.

LINCOLN BRADEN.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT



TART SOCIALIST LIBRARIES.

The cut on this page shows twenty out of the two hundred books now issued by our co-operative publishing house. Ten years ago it was practically impossible for an American workingman to own a Socialist library, and most of the works of the great European Socialists could not be had in the English language at any price. Through the work of our two thousand stockholders it has become an easy matter to start a library.

The books shown in the illustration and some twenty more uniform with them in size and style are sold at the retail price of 50c each. Our stockholders buy them at 25c each, or 30c if sent postpaid. A share of stock costs \$10.00, but it can be paid for at the rate of

\$1.00 a month, and the purchaser can buy books at a discount while making his payments.

If you do not like to bind yourself to make monthly payments, and can not spare \$10.00 at once, here is a plan by which you can lose nothing and can pay for a share without any trouble or annoyance. Simply send a dollar or more to pay for our books at advertised prices. We will mail you the books and with them a credit slip for 40 per cent of the amount you send. This credit slip will be receivable at any time within a year toward the purchase of a share of stock.

A descriptive catalog of all our books will be sent promptly on request. This will show just what we do and do not publish. It is a waste of time on both sides to ask us for books of other publishers; we do not supply them at any price. On our own books a stockholder gets a discount of 50 per cent if he pays the expressage; 40 per cent if we pay it. On our five cent booklets we make stockholders a special rate of \$1.00 per hundred or 60c for a set of sixty, postage included. If the stockholder pays expressage he can get 100 of these booklets, assorted, for 80c; 1,000 for \$7.00; 5,000 for \$30.00. Remember that 5,000 booklets at the retail price amount to \$250.00, and you will realize that a local state organization of the Socialist party, or a traveling organizer, can cover a large amount of the necessary expense through the sale of these booklets. The latest addition to our list is **Economic Evolution**, newly translated by Charles H. Kerr from the French of **Paul Lafargue**. It is the most brilliant and readable defense of Socialism yet published in booklet form.

TEN BLIND LEADERS OF THE BLIND.

This volume of lectures by Arthur M. Lewis, announced several months ago, has been unavoidably delayed through the author's illness, which prevented his completing the work until quite lately. The printing is now nearly finished, and we expect to have copies ready for delivery shortly after this issue of the **REVIEW** is in the hands of its readers. The volume will contain 200 pages, and will retail for 50 cents. Mr. Lewis's first volume, **Evolution, Social and Organic**, also published at 50 cents, is now in its fourth edition.

SOCIALISM FOR STUDENTS.

Under this general heading we shall publish in the **INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW**, beginning with the November number, a series of articles by **Joseph E. Cohen**, which in our opinion will constitute the best **Study Course in Socialism** ever published in the English language. The titles of the successive articles will be as follows:

- I. Why Study Socialism?
- II. The Socialist Indictment.
- III. Socialist Economics.
- IV. The Class Struggle.

- V. Historical Materialism.
- VI. Socialism and Science.
- VII. Socialist Philosophy.
- VIII. Socialist Sociology.
- IX. Socialist Statesmanship.

In "Why Study Socialism?" and, in fact, in the whole series of lessons, particular stress will be laid upon the fact that "modern" Socialism, while historically it is the natural outcome of former Socialism, is distinct from it, and is the only Socialism with which we are concerned. It is the product of existing conditions, and the International Socialist movement of today is a reflex of these conditions.

A detailed outline of the entire course will be given in the opening article next month. We believe that this study course will be the most effective tool for developing clear-headed Socialists, both inside and outside the membership of the Socialist party, that has yet been devised. To give it an introduction wherever needed, we need the help of all present REVIEW subscribers, and we have accordingly mailed each of them a letter, containing a special offer, which will not be made public. Any REVIEW subscriber who has failed to receive his letter, or who has mislaid it without giving it a careful reading, can have a duplicate by requesting it.

For over eight years the REVIEW has been published at a loss. This has in part been made up by the contributions of individuals; at present Eugene Dietzgen is making quarterly contributions of \$250 each, which he promises to continue until the middle of 1909. But the greater part of the loss has fallen directly upon the co-operative publishing house; it has kept us in debt and has delayed us in the issue of important books; it has also prevented us from advertising our publications widely.

The loss has been mainly due to the fact that the matter in the REVIEW has been over the heads of those who tried to read it, so that after a year or two a subscriber would drop out. We propose to change this state of things by two methods. We have already enlarged the REVIEW and increased the proportion of easy reading in it. We propose in the new **Study Course** we have been describing to give new readers the groundwork that will enable them to enjoy even the more technical articles that we may publish in future.

The study of Socialism never can be very simple, because capitalist society, the subject matter of our study, is very far from simple. But this study brings its reward from day to day in an added insight into everything around us, and an added sense of power in dealing with each new problem from day to day. Most of the present readers of the REVIEW are already students and realize what study has done for them. If every Socialist party member were to become a student of Socialism, the efficiency of the party would be more than doubled.

SOCIALIST BOOKS AT COST

The Right Books at the Right Prices Through Co-operation.

This is not a dream of the future; it is doing now. Perhaps it might have come about in some other way, but the way it **has** come about is this: Nineteen hundred and fifty socialists have put in ten dollars each for the sake of having real socialist books published and for the privilege of buying them at cost. They draw no dividends, but they buy books at the following

SPECIAL STOCKHOLDERS' PRICES.

Pocket Library of Socialism (five-cent books): By mail, \$1.00 a hundred; 60c for a set of 60 booklets; 2c each in smaller lots. By express at purchaser's expense, 80c a hundred; \$7.00 a thousand; \$30.00 for 5,000.

All other books, cloth and paper alike, 40 per cent discount if the postage or expressage is prepaid; 50 per cent discount if purchaser pays expressage. No cheaper by the hundred or thousand.

International Socialist Review, ten copies or more of any one issue, 5c each, postpaid; five yearly subscriptions sent at one time, \$3.00; no discount on smaller orders.

No orders for books or periodicals of other publishers received at any price.

ONE PURPOSE IN VIEW.

This co-operative publishing house is organized to do just one thing—to bring out books that are valuable to the international socialist movement and to circulate them at prices within the reach of the working class.

A few capitalist houses are beginning to bring out a few good socialist books, but with just enough exceptions to prove the rule, the prices are too high. No other socialist house is in a position to bring out the classics of socialism, and in fact other socialist publishers come to us for the more valuable portion of the books that they advertise.

Our list includes by far the greater portion of the socialist literature worth reading that has appeared in the English language, but many able writers are now active, and there is urgent need of new capital to pay for bringing out new books. If you want to do your share, just as others have done, send TEN DOLLARS, all at once if possible, but in monthly installments of a dollar if necessary, and you will have the privilege of buying books at stockholders' prices as soon as you have made your first payment. If you can spare more than ten dollars, we can use a limited amount of money at five per cent interest if payable on six months' call or at four per cent on thirty days' call. We also receive loans without interest payable on demand. It will readily be seen that if the payment of interest can be avoided, we shall be able to increase the circulation of socialist literature and reduce prices.

If the work we are doing is something that you want done, we look for your help. The money is not needed to pay deficits; there is no deficit. We are not going to stop, whether you respond or not. But if you take hold with us, we can do so much the more toward providing the literature that the Socialist Party needs.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY (Co-operative)



153 KINZIE STREET, CHICAGO.